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The Shape of Things

A CITIZEN OF ABILENE, KANSAS, RETURNED TO his native land this week. No American, with the possible exception of Franklin D. Roosevelt, has so caught the imagination of all the peoples who worked to bring about the overthrow of the Nazi-Fascist war machine. Not only has General Eisenhower justified the hopes placed in him as Supreme Allied Commander, but among the leading figures of the Allied nations no one else seems to have grasped so firmly the basic reality of the cooperative effort upon which victory and the peace beyond victory so largely depended. General Ike, who did so much to bring about the victorious coalition, has become the symbol of the unity among peoples upon which the hopes of our generation are based. It is reported that a few days before D-Day an American correspondent asked General Eisenhower what in his opinion would be the greatest story to come out of the war. "The greatest story to come out of the war," Eisenhower replied, "will be the story of Canadian fliers escorting British destroyers convoying American troops to the invasion beachheads." The man who has been accorded the highest honors from the governments of the leading United Nations sees himself honored only as the representative of those who have paid the high price for victory. "Humility must always be the portion of any man who receives acclaim earned in the blood of his followers and the sacrifices of his friends." He went on to say to the city fathers of London, who had presented him with the freedom of the city, that Abilene, Kansas, was a long way from the ancient city whose roots went back into the uncertainties of unrecorded history. "Yet kinship among nations is not determined in such measurements as proximity of size and age. Rather we should turn to those inner things—call them what you will—I mean those intangibles that are the real treasure free men possess. To preserve [them] . . . a Londoner will fight. So will a citizen of Abilene."

*

THE ITALIAN CRISIS HAS ENDED IN COMPROMISE that favors the resistance forces. Delegates of the Committee of Liberation for North Italy solved the problem of the Premiership by proposing Ferruccio Parri for the post after Pietro Nenni had been rejected by the Christian Democratic Party. This was the only possible solution, since Alcide de Gasperi, proposed by the right wing, was unacceptable to the Socialist, Communist, and Action parties. Unlike Bonomi, the new Premier is comparatively young and has opposed fascism from the beginning. As early as 1929 Carlo Roselli described him in these words: "Until I knew Parri, the Mazzinian hero had been a rhetorical abstraction to me. Now I see him before me in flesh and blood, with all the sorrow

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of the world and all the energy of the world stamped in his features." Fifteen years later the Mazzinian hero became vice-commander of the Partisan forces that contributed so decisively to the liberation of the North. The new Premier will also hold the important post of Minister of the Interior, with power over the police and local administration—a power previously exercised by the monarchists. These are the favorable aspects of the crisis. The role of the British and Americans has been less satisfactory. They opposed giving the Premiership to Nenni for the same reason that led them, six months ago, to reject Count Sforza as Foreign Minister—because both men are against the House of Savoy. Since the crisis began Nenni has maintained that Crown Prince Umberto should resign to make way for a republic and avoid civil war. That action alone was sufficient to assure him the Allies' veto. The British Tories, in particular, are committed to support of the monarchy as part of their last-ditch fight to prevent Europe from going to the left.

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IN BELGIUM AND IN SPAIN THE SAME GAME IS being played. A major crisis has developed in Belgium as a result of the attempt to force the return of Leopold III to the throne. Belgian labor seems to be rallying solidly behind Achille van Acker, the Socialist Premier, who last Saturday offered his resignation and that of the entire Cabinet in protest against an announcement that the King was returning from Salzburg. The General Confederation of Labor has announced that "it intends to use every means in its power to oppose the reactionary maneuver involved in Leopold's return." In Spain a more subtle maneuver is working toward a similar goal. General Franco has announced the creation of a "Council of the Realm," which would select his successor if the necessity arose. "With the exception of certain relatively short periods in our history," Franco said in an interview at Pardo Palace, "our government has been traditionally a monarchy." The Spanish dictator is convinced that if he can survive the coming critical six months on the international level, the regime will be saved. He counts on a Churchill victory in England and on a rightist orientation of Anglo-American policy as a counterweight to Russia. Foreign Minister Lequerica has persuaded Franco that his chance of remaining in power would be considerably increased should Spain now fall in line with the general movement to restore all possible monarchies in Europe. That the peoples are not prepared to support this plan is demonstrated by the angry reaction of Belgian labor, and by the savage attack in Chambery by Frenchmen on a train they believed was carrying soldiers of the Blue Division back to Spain.

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THE ENTIRE PRICE-STABILIZATION MECHANISM IS gravely threatened by the Wherry amendment, which the Senate, in a moment of confusion, permitted to be attached to the Price Control Act. The amendment would prevent the OPA from establishing ceilings on farm products at less than the cost of production plus a reasonable profit. Since there is no indication of whose costs are meant, the term appears to refer to *any* farmer. The OPA could not impose a price ceiling at a point where any farmer, regardless of his efficiency, would fail to make a profit. This is tantamount to saying that the OPA cannot exercise any effective control over farm prices, thus opening the way to a sharp rise in all food prices. Although there is a strong possibility that the Wherry amendment may be rejected by the House, the Republicans in that body have a series of other amendments ready, that are only slightly less menacing. One of the most serious is a proposal to insert into the bill a statement of Congressional intent which would require the OPA to adopt a "flexible" pricing policy in order to encourage production. This rule would compel the OPA to abandon the pricing procedures that have proved so effective during the past few years in favor of methods that are frankly inflationary. Food subsidies are the object of the usual attack from the inflationary-minded coalition of Republicans and farm-bloc Democrats. The entire program can be saved only if the public asserts itself, as it has on several occasions in the past when price control was challenged by special interests.

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NAZIS MAY SAFELY OPPOSE CONSCRIPTION, BUT conscientious objectors may not, according to two recent decisions by the Supreme Court. The court has acquitted twenty-four leaders of the German-American Bund convicted in a lower court of interfering with the draft. And it has upheld the Illinois Supreme Court's refusal to admit Clyde Summers, a conscientious objector, whose physical disabilities exempted him from the draft, to the practice of law in that state. The court's five-to-four decision in favor of Gerhard Kunze, former national Bund president, and his twenty-three fellow-members hinged on a provision in the Selective Service Act denying reemployment rights to Communist Party and Bund members. It was in order to test this clause, the majority decision held, the Bund counseled its members to resist service in the armed forces. In a dissenting opinion concurred in by Justices Reed, Douglas, and Jackson, Chief Justice Stone said that the Bund leaders were violating the draft act. In the Clyde Summers case the court again voted five to four. In his dissent from the majority opinion Justice Black held that he was not ready to say that a mere profession of belief in Christ's gospel "is a sufficient reason to keep otherwise well-qualified men out of the legal profession." This opinion was concurred in by Justices Douglas, Murphy, and Rutledge. Justice Douglas is to be congratulated for opposing both Nazi and native enemies of freedom; he alone dissented in both cases. Justices Roberts and Frankfurter voted with the majority in both cases. Justices Black, Murphy, and Rutledge emerged as nostalgic exponents of laissez faire liberalism, for they defended both the Bundists and the conscientious objector. Defense of the military against all comers was maintained by Chief Justice Stone and Justices Reed and Jackson. The letter of the law was stretched to the breaking point by Justice Roberts's majority opinion, which noted that the Bundists "always favored a compulsory Selective Service Act, even though they did not wish a draft army to fight with England against Germany."

NEXT WEEK

Lincoln Kirstein visits *Der Stuermer*. (His article is written on Julius Streicher's private letter paper.)

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Another Chance in India

WE WELCOME the British government's new move to break the Indian deadlock and, particularly, the release of Nehru and other leaders from jail, a step which ought to be followed by the freeing of all political prisoners. The White Paper, to be sure, is a cautious document. It is, in fact, a slightly revised version of the Cripps plan, plus proposals for an "interim working arrangement." These proposals, it is hoped, will facilitate cooperation between leaders of the different communities in solving the constitutional problem.

At the time of the Cripps mission, in March, 1942, the Japanese were advancing rapidly through Burma. The invasion of India by land and sea appeared an ominous possibility, and the tide had not yet turned in Europe. The British government was therefore playing from a weak hand. There seemed a reasonable chance that it might be bluffing when Cripps insisted his plan must be accepted or rejected as a whole, and that Congress might be able to win further concessions. Actually, the government's weakness may have stiffened its attitude; it felt it could more easily afford civil disorder than any loosening of its grip on the Indian military machine.

With the failure of the Cripps mission, civil disorder duly broke out, but it was drastically suppressed, and since then India has remained comparatively quiet under an autocratic regime. Internally and externally the British are now in a stronger position than in 1942, but they have to look ahead to the time when the Indian army is demobilized and political agitation can no longer be forbidden on grounds of military necessity. Moreover, they cannot ignore the moral pressure of world opinion: imperialism—at least the old-fashioned variety—is unpopular with both of Britain's great allies.

The All-India Congress, also, may be more in a mood to negotiate. Although it is the outstanding political force in the country, it can stir into rebellious activity only a fraction of India's 400,000,000. The comparative ease with which the last outbreak of rioting was put down and the passivity with which the horrors of the Bengal famine were accepted suggest that revolution may not yet be a practical alternative to constitutional evolution. Political consciousness may develop from empty bellies but not from chronic malnutrition.

Another factor which Congress must weigh in considering the British offer is the strengthened strategic position of the Moslem League. Mr. Jinnah never has been able to speak for all the Indian Moslems and cannot do so now, but there are reasons to believe that his following has grown during the last three years. He is also receiving encouragement from the organization of the Arab League by his co-religionists in the Middle East. Jinnah may, therefore, be expected to press his demands for Pakistan—independent status for Indian provinces with Moslem majorities—more strongly than ever.

Congress stands for a united as well as an independent India, but the British cannot obtain union by coercing the Moslems. As the White Paper says, "The working out of India's new constitutional system is a task which can only be carried through by the Indian peoples themselves." It goes on to suggest that negotiations between the leaders of the main communities might be assisted if they came together in accepting responsibilities in the Central Executive Council and the provincial governments. The British therefore propose to reconstruct the Central Council, with all Cabinet posts filled by Indians selected by the Viceroy on the basis of nominations by the leaders of the chief parties and communities. The Viceroy would remain as chairman with the power of veto, and the British Commander-in-Chief would continue to function as Minister of War. Foreign affairs, however, would pass into Indian hands, and, it is suggested, accredited diplomatic missions could be appointed immediately to represent India abroad.

The original proposal made by Sir Stafford Cripps was rejected by the All-India Congress on the ground that it was not an offer of full Cabinet responsibility. But as Cripps probably pointed out at the time, if the Indian ministers stuck together they would gain the substance of power, for the Viceroy would long hesitate to provoke a political crisis by exercising his veto. The British Cabinet itself was changed from a royal advisory body to a fully responsible executive not by law but by usage. We hope, therefore, that the Indian leaders will regard the British plan, not as a trap to compromise them, but as an opportunity to gain a vantage point from which to press forward to full independence.

Soft Peace for Japan?

JAPANESE propagandists have given a great deal of time lately to explaining how impossible it is for loyal Japanese ever to accept "unconditional surrender." They have not said they would surrender on terms, but the implication is plain. If we are "reasonable" and provide a formula which would avoid the stigma of defeat, the Japanese might be willing to call off the war. Ordinarily, one would pay little or no attention to what the Japanese put on the air. They have never been clever in their propaganda directed at this country; and if there is one thing on which all the American people have seemed united, it is the necessity for the complete defeat of Japan and the eradication of Japanese militarism. But in the past few weeks we have suddenly begun to hear intimations from various quarters concerning the desirability of either making a conditional peace or "spelling out the terms of unconditional surrender."

Not all the advocates of a conditional peace necessarily are advocates of a soft peace. But many are. One radio commentator went so far recently as to plead for a peace that would leave Japan strong enough to prevent the expansion of Soviet influence in Asia. The New York *World-Telegram* outlined peace terms which conspicuously failed to mention the Cairo declaration, the fate of Formosa, the treatment to be accorded the Emperor, or the Zaibatsu. Writing in a Washington paper, Frank Kent suggested that Japan might be allowed to keep both Formosa and Korea as a reward for an early peace that would save thousands of American lives.

All this would seem of trifling importance if the arrest of six leading critics of State Department policy last week had

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not pointed so clearly to the existence of a powerful "soft-peace" clique in high places within the government. The last issue of *Amerasia* to be published before its editors were arrested quoted certain comments which Captain E. M. Zacharias, former naval attaché in Tokyo, is alleged to have made to the Japanese people after delivering President Truman's statement to them over the radio. Captain Zacharias is said to have appealed personally in the most cordial language to leading militarists and diplomats whom he had known, including ex-Premier Yonai, Admiral Nomura, Mr. Kurusu, and Premier Suzuki, and to have ended by telling the people of Japan that "they could choose a peace with honor." *Amerasia* pointed out that this phrase must have come as a shock to the survivors of the Bataan death march. The magazine was also critical of Under Secretary of State Grew's known tenderness toward the Zaibatsu, the equivalent of Germany's Krupps and Thyssens.

The arrest of the six may or may not be connected with these particular criticisms of State Department policy. But it seems to be more than a coincidence that the editors of a magazine that is highly critical of the tendency toward a soft peace should be arrested just at the moment that reactionary and pacifist groups are opening a drive for a negotiated peace. This drive seems to have been launched at the psychological moment when it is most likely to get a hearing. With the European war over, many Americans find it difficult to face the necessity of further heavy bloodshed for a victory that is already assured. There is bound to be a lag of several months before our full military resources can be shifted to the Pacific. Until this is accomplished the war will seem to drag after the excitement of the final campaign against Germany. Moreover, the advocates of a negotiated peace have sought to capitalize on anti-Soviet feeling by circulating wild stories about supposed Russian ambitions on the Asiatic continent.

We do not believe the American people would tolerate a peace for Japan that did not *seem* to involve the complete destruction of Japanese militarism. And we see no danger of conditions that would not go at least as far as the Cairo declaration. But because of the general lack of information there is danger that Americans might consent to a peace leaving Japan in the hands of the feudal-militarist clique responsible for the government's aggressive policies for the past two generations. A peace that maintained Japan's semi-feudal social system would inevitably breed another war. As long as Mr. Grew remains in his present key position, the danger of this kind of "soft peace" will continue. For Mr. Grew has repeatedly, in his book and in various public statements, attempted to distinguish between the militarists, whom he holds responsible for the war, and the "moderate" industrialists, financiers, and officials associated with the Emperor. Yet the record shows that the Zaibatsu, Mr. Grew's "moderates," not only cooperated with the militarists in preparation for the war but have been the chief obstacle to the economic and political reforms necessary for the growth of a genuinely democratic movement in Japan. This group would undoubtedly welcome any kind of peace that left their power intact. Such a peace might save many thousands of American lives during the next year. But it would do so at the cost of millions of lives later on.

Russia and the West

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

VARIOUS happenings here and abroad have, almost suddenly, lightened the atmosphere of apprehension that has hung over the international scene. The announcement of an early meeting of Truman, Churchill, and Stalin, the beginning of talks in Moscow among the Polish party leaders, the certainty that the United Nations Conference will end in at least a moderate success—all these have helped restore the public mood to normal, or nearly so. People no longer expect war with Soviet Russia day after tomorrow.

Nor is the improvement entirely atmospheric; some clear gains have been made. We know now that the responsible statesmen of the three biggest powers saw the peril of allowing differences among them to continue to accumulate and took steps to save the coalition. The dispatch of Messrs. Davies and Hopkins to London and Moscow was particularly welcome proof that President Truman, despite his properly reserved comments on changes in the State Department, realized that the situation could be remedied only by going outside the channels of ordinary diplomacy. All this is grounds for genuine encouragement.

But it would be foolish, just the same, to assume that these measures are more than emergency salvage operations. Indeed there is the danger, always present in our volatile country, that the sudden swing from panic to relief will lead people to ignore real and continuing difficulties. We cannot afford to sit back and rest on Mr. Hopkins's laurels; one mission does not make a decent foreign policy. The problem of establishing a solid basis for peaceful, cooperative relations with Russia remains unsolved and, for the most part, unfaced. And throughout the years immediately ahead that problem will overshadow every other. One can understand why Sir Stafford Cripps devoted his first speech in the British election campaign to the question of Russia and the peace. Politicians, aware of the intimate anxieties of a war-weary electorate, would prefer to fight the campaign on domestic issues, but they cannot shut out the issue of foreign policy. For, in the not-so-long run, plans for jobs and new homes in England will be only as good as are the relations between Britain and its great allies in both directions, and the shadow of another war will reduce to nothing the campaign promises of the parties—Labor, Tory, or Liberal.

Between Russia and the two chief Western powers a deep conflict of purpose and policy exists, dividing Europe now and promising to divide Asia later. The elements in that conflict cannot be resolved into easy moral categories. It is not enough to say that Russia has become a militarist, imperialist power or that the United States and Britain are supporting reaction in Europe and the Far East. One must examine the labels and analyze the stuff they are supposed to describe. For the ingredients of the conflict are not only explosive, they are very complex. They are political and economic and psychological and all three variously compounded; they arise from the desire for security and the ambition for power, and even these are likely to be aspects of the same thing. The conflict

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is taking shape in terms of Russia against the West, but many of the issues will have to be worked out, or fought out, within each nation. The recent Communist shift back to a popular-front policy from a policy of half-fictitious, wholly grotesque class collaboration is not merely a reflection of Russia's desire to revive left-opposition movements as a potential political weapon against the Western powers, though it is probably partly that; it is also an acknowledgement that the economic-political divisions in each country have become wider and less easy to camouflage now that wartime prosperity and the wartime need for unity have begun to diminish. And yet these internal conflicts, based on such solid facts as hunger and joblessness, or rule by reactionaries or democrats, again reflect the broader aspects of the conflict between Russia and the West. The reality behind the vision of democratic disintegration conjured up by Hitler is rapidly taking shape. A cynical friend said the other day: "Hitler has won the war." This is not true. Division among the Allies was for Hitler only a means to achieve the single end of a war between Russia and the West. He will not win a posthumous victory unless that catastrophe overwhelms the world.

The most important job for Allied diplomacy is to avoid that war. That it would end what is left of what we call civilization, everyone admits. But it would do so not only because the destructive capacity of the military machines is increasing by almost geometric jumps, but even more because it would be a civil war. The present war also involved, and developed out of, internal conflicts in each country; but the external enemy, the aggressor, was easy to identify; and the job of defeating him blurred social differences and welded at least a temporary unity in the countries of the anti-Axis coalition. A war with Russia and the Western powers would be, as Reinhold Niebuhr has called it, a "civil war within civilization." For Russia, with all its differences of policy and system, is "on our side." Not even its most ruthless and arbitrary acts have been able to kill the popular belief that the Soviet government has tackled and begun to solve the strangling problems of modern economic life. War with Russia would be a civil war in the most literal sense in every country, dividing classes, ranging party against party, breaking out in a hundred forms, from strikes and fierce propaganda struggles to open rebellion in those nations where hunger and political conflict are near the surface.

Certainly this war within civilization is not as near as irresponsibles in and out of the government pretend. The criminal lunatics who openly prefer to "clean up the job while we still have our armies in the field" are unimportant. Sane persons, however much they may dislike Russia, would think more than twice before urging war with a power whose armies at the end of the war in Europe numbered twice the combined forces of the United States and Britain. Besides which, the present war is not over: the value of agreement among the Allies is still tied to the practical necessity of defeating Japan. Even our least imaginative officials recognize our present stake in Russian good will. Today, therefore, Clare Luce is an object of ridicule, hardly even a nuisance. And the fanatics who are beginning to talk about keeping Russia out of the Far Eastern struggle—the same ones, in many cases, who have consistently assailed Russia for failing to come in—are at least "premature anti-Stalinists." War with a major ally while we have still a major enemy to dispose of is not a popular cause. But the poison emited by the Russophobes is not wasted. Its effect is insidious and cumulative. We should not dismiss it just because Russia seems to have become more amenable and a prospect of peaceful accommodation has opened. Early war is not the danger we have chiefly to fear. What is necessary is to find a basis of *permanent cooperation*, which alone offers the hope of peace and a gradual reconstruction of Europe and the world. A superficial job of patchwork, leaving all the problems unsolved, will give the fear-mongers and the hate-mongers a chance to do an effective job in the next five or ten years.

The real issues between the Soviet Union and Britain and the United States are profound and deeply rooted. They are issues that exist "within civilization"; the defeat of Hitler and Mussolini only made their universal character more apparent. For Europe's economic structure, badly battered by World War I, shored up with all sorts of ineffective props between 1918 and 1939, has been pulverized by World War II. The Russian revolution was one convulsion of European capitalism's collapse. Fascism was a disastrous, counter-revolutionary attempt to organize, centralize, and save it. The physical destruction of the war just ended, together with the wiping out of capital assets of all sorts, including the savings of the middle class, together with the fantastic jumble of property rights resulting from Nazi policies of expropriation and extermination and forced migration—all these have left the structure of Europe an empty shell. The financial expense of the war—which can only be computed in figures beyond human understanding—would by itself drag a private-enterprise system into profound depression. With the items above added in, I think we can consider that a revolution has been accomplished even though the form of the new system is not yet visible. Europe is living in a limbo of military government and military economics which temporarily conceal the reality and postpone the inevitable reckoning.

We are witnessing, and only half realizing that we are witnessing, one of the great political-economic upheavals of history. It is not going to be subdued by military measures or by small poultices applied in the name of relief and rehabilitation. It is not going to be checked by the imposition of governments of "order." It may, perhaps, be slowed up if America and Britain are willing to back their policy of establishing or salvaging reaction with continued outlays of money and goods in war-time amounts. But Britain cannot and America will not do this. In some form the European revolution will have to take its course. It could be steered into democratic and orderly channels, perhaps, if the great Western powers recognized that it was inevitable and encouraged the best leadership among the democratic elements in each country. But this would require a kind of statesmanship we have not yet found—even in Franklin D. Roosevelt—and we have no democratic leader as strong as he in either country. It would require statesmanship able to accept the wiping out of large property interests and the planning of an economy designed to rebuild the Continent rather than to get out profits. The House of Representatives has passed the Bretton Woods bill. This is a single and important sign that we are beginning to understand the international crisis of capitalism. But it's a long way from Bretton Woods to

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the encouragement of democratic revolution in Europe.

Britain, even Tory Britain, understands better than we the need of planned action. But its immediate problems are enormous and certainly its present ruling group does not see their solution in socialism either at home or abroad. If a Tory government is returned, as it probably will be, we may expect in Britain a policy of national and international controls where these are needed to protect profits, combined with energetic competition where British trade can operate advantageously on its own. Only a Labor victory offers hope of an economic program and a foreign policy directed consciously to overcoming the crisis in Europe.

Russia alone, at this moment, is in a position to act positively. Not that Russia is any less stubbornly nationalistic than Britain and the United States. On the contrary, its self-interested policy is reflected in every move it makes, whether along its own frontiers or at San Francisco. The story from Sofia printed in this issue offers illuminating evidence of Russia's drive to assert its power. But that story also shows how differently Russia's self-interest expresses itself in Bulgaria from Britain's in Greece. In economic, and therefore in political, matters Russia is not interested in preserving the property and political relationships that existed before the war. On the contrary, it stands to gain in the long run by change. For reasons of expediency—to conciliate its allies, or win certain local advantages—it has maintained here and there parties or leaders or social arrangements left over from fascist or pre-fascist days. But only a determined Russophobe could believe that it has done so for reasons of permanent policy—to prevent the destruction of private property interests and retain in power moribund dynasties for the protection of those interests. In spite of the survival of a Peter or a Michael in countries where Moscow's wish is law today, the over-all effect of Russian control has been to wipe out established pre-war relationships and to smash fascist power. Nazis and collaborators are being rounded up and disposed of. Land is rapidly being divided; schools started; political activity encouraged; production stimulated. Russia would not benefit by preserving the *status quo ante* in Bulgaria; it can afford to jerk Bulgaria into the twentieth century. Britain believes it can protect its interests in Greece only by preventing revolution there. And so the sort of dangerous competition is developing that Mr. Poulos so well describes.

None of this is supposed to suggest that the process taking place in Eastern Europe is a model of democratic change or that Russia's unilateral moves have contributed to an easy solution of the differences between itself and the Western powers. Neither is true. Certainly, from the little we have learned, Russian methods are often both overbearing and ruthless: along with fascists, many democratic elements are suppressed or wiped out. And Russia's calm disregard for even the forms of collaboration in many critical instances has created antagonism in Washington and London where it could easily have been avoided. But this conduct, too, must be examined in the light of the unhappy past. One must constantly bear in mind how deep and essentially well-founded are Russian fears of hostile action. How can any honest person who thinks back over the past twenty-six years—from the first attempts by the Allies to crush the new Revolution by direct armed intervention and the subsidizing of every local uprising, through the careful construction of the *cordon sanitaire,* down to the final betrayal of collective security at Munich—doubt that Russia is genuinely obsessed with the problem of security? Sir Stafford Cripps warned against saying or doing "rash and impetuous things that are, or reasonably appear to be, hostile to the Soviet Union." He insisted that for Russia there are two possible forms of security—one "a strong international organization in which all countries cooperate with friendship," the other "the sphere of influence and control which, failing a wider system of security, will at least prevent neighboring states from being used as jumping-off ground for future aggression, as they have been used many times in the past."

Certainly the threatening talk of persons in important posts in our own army and of members of the American Congress is not calculated to still Moscow's suspicions or induce it to rely solely on the collective method of achieving security. And if we point out that Moscow's behavior is itself partly rseponsible for those threats, we are only completing the circle of reciprocal fear and provocation which must be broken if peace is to last between Russia and the West.

To demand of Russia more conciliatory behavior is quite proper. This has been done at San Francisco with considerable success. But I think we may as well admit that, in the long run, Russia will be moved not by arguments but by actions. If the Western powers had a policy that indicated an understanding of what is going on in Europe, that showed strength and a belief in the democratic principles they expound, that showed some tangible results in economic revival and social peace, then, I believe, we might hope for a substantial gain in undersanding. Today, British and American criticism of Russia is neutralized in Italy and Spain and Greece—and even more in Germany; it can become effective only on the basis of a positive democratic policy of our own.

It is pure dilettantism to sit back and attack "impartially" both Russia and the West. This may be fun but it leads nowhere. The job of the political analyst is not to shoot his arrows at all wicked men but to try to explain the causes of the difficulties he has discovered and advocate policies which may remove them. Specifically the greatest need today is a united, determined effort on the part of British and American liberals and leftists to point out the immense dangers in their governments' foreign policies and to demand unceasingly a change in men and in direction.

Western Europe still has tremendous resources of democratic energy. During the war the resistance movements organized that energy into a magnificent common effort. Today the Western Allies, with deliberate intent, are dissipating and repressing it. They are doing so to prevent social and political change. Quite rapidly they are converting to enmity the warm and welcoming spirit of the anti-fascists of the Continent. The people of Europe deserve a chance to find their own way to peace and freedom; they deserve the help of the dominant powers. With help, they might work out their economic revolution in terms of democracy. Without help, against opposition, they will inevitably be driven toward the solution offered by Russia; and the world will be driven toward that "war within civilization" on which Hitler staked his final hope.

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Jim Crow Flies High

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, June 15

IN 1919," according to Malcolm Ross, chairman of the FEPC, speaking before the House Appropriations Committee, "there were twenty-six race riots, most of them caused by this fight for jobs by unemployed people. We had no method of controlling those situations in 1919." We shall have no method of controlling such situations in 1945 after exactly fifteen days, unless public pressure forces action in the Senate on the FEPC appropriation for the next fiscal year or in the House on the bill for a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee. A renewed appropriation for the FEPC and legislation to make it permanent are needed for three reasons: first, in order to continue measures for full mobilization of man-power until the Japanese war is over; second, to demonstrate to the colored peoples of the East, whose help we need in that war, that the United States is making progress away from race prejudice; third, to provide a post-war preventive measure to forestall racial outbreaks in the inevitable unemployment of the reconversion period. We do not want a repetition of the dreadful scenes which occurred under similar circumstances after the last war. W. E. B. Du Bois, in his book "Dusk of Dawn," has provided a vivid picture of the race riots of 1919. The dead included "thirty-eight killed in a Chicago riot of August; from twenty-five to fifty in Phillips County, Arkansas, and six killed in Washington," "For a day," Du Bois continues, "the city of Washington in July, 1919, was actually in the hands of a black mob fighting against the aggression of the whites with hand grenades."

It is not difficult to imagine outbreaks of this kind again in such cities as Washington and Detroit if nothing is done now to prevent them. The FEPC, despite all the hostility it has aroused, is a puny enough measure. A stepchild among Washington's swarming war agencies, it is probably the smallest agency of government in the capital, with a staff of but 127 persons all told, including stenographers and office boys. It is asking $599,000 for the next fiscal year, a drop in the bucket of the huge federal war budget. The FEPC has had a backlog of 2,500 cases for some time and has been just about able to close out enough old ones to balance the new cases coming in. If we were not so half-hearted and almost surreptitious in taking action against race prejudice, the FEPC would have an appropriation at least ten times what it is asking and has as yet been unable to obtain. The inadequacy of its funds becomes strikingly clear when one looks at its regional offices, where complaints are investigated and cases brought. A staff of seven, including three stenographers, handles all the New England states and New York. Three examiners and two stenographers are all the FEPC has for its Atlanta office, which takes care of five states—Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Florida. There is a staff of three, including one stenographer, for the state of Michigan. From its San Antonio office two examiners and a stenographer must handle all the FEPC complaints of western Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Utah, and Colorado. It is a miracle that the FEPC has been able to accomplish as much as it has, and for that miracle great credit is due its chairman, Malcolm Ross. Bringing deep devotion and almost superhuman patience to his difficult task—the breaking down of race prejudice and discrimination in industry, primarily against the Negro—he has made a sizable contribution to the war effort.

About one worker in every twelve in war industry today is a Negro. Negroes are 12 per cent of the workers in shipbuilding, 10 per cent of those in combat vehicles and ammunition, 7 per cent of those in aircraft. The last to be hired, they are apt to be the first to be fired. In the Southern shipyards, in Detroit with its 260,000 Negroes, in Los Angeles with 150,000, in Portland, Oregon, where there has been a phenomenal increase in the Negro population, there may be serious trouble as cutbacks increase and industry shuts down or reconverts. Unfortunately, the FEPC as at present constituted by executive order is limited to war plants. It cannot offer protection to racial or religious minorities in business and factories reconverted to peace-time output, though this is where FEPC action is most needed. Today the FEPC is fighting for its life as a war agency, as well as asking for establishment as a permanent instrument of government.

The House Appropriations Committee, which spent three days grilling FEPC officials last year, was alarmingly swift in dealing with the committee this year. Hearings took little over a day, and the questioning was not much more than a formality. A majority of the committee had their minds made up to kill the FEPC appropriation. In the subcommittee the vote was four to four. Ludlow of Indiana and Dirksen of Illinois, the former a Democrat, the latter a Republican, led the fight for the FEPC, while Taber of New York, who watches the pennies for the G. O. P., led the Southern Democrats into battle against the agency. In the full committee Coffee of Washington and Koppleman of Connecticut fought hard to win approval for the requested appropriation, but lost eighteen to eleven. The committee reported ingenuously that since legislation to make the FEPC permanent was pending, "the only logical course" was to withhold action on the appropriation. This was an interesting squeeze play.

There is still a fighting chance for the appropriation in the Senate. A slim majority of the members of the Senate Appropriations Committee are friendly to the FEPC, though the chairman, Senator McKellar, is hostile. Last year McKellar had the annual appropriation bill printed without the FEPC item, and the committee had to overrule him and order a new bill printed. Should the appropriation lose in commit-

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tee, which is possible, and be offered as an amendment from the floor, then McKellar as presiding officer would be in a position to rule it out of order. Some public pressure on the committee would be most useful. The men who need it on the Democratic side are Tydings of Maryland and McCarran of Nevada. The Republicans on the committee who are unfriendly to the FEPC are Bridges of New Hampshire, Wherry of Nebraska, White of Maine, Gurney of South Dakota, Reed of Kansas, and Willis of Indiana. Anyone who helps to build a fire under them on this issue will be doing a good deed.

Prodding is equally urgent on the bill to make the FEPC permanent. Progressives in Ohio might begin by taking some pot shots at Taft. The senior Senator from Ohio and leading corporation lawyer of Cincinnati was chairman of the committee which drafted the last Republican platform, and that platform said, "We pledge establishment by federal legislation of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee." But Taft himself was the only Republican member of the Senate Education and Labor Committee who voted against favorably reporting the Chavez bill for a permanent FEPC. The committee is a progressive one. The vote was twelve to six in favor of the bill, and it can be called up in the Senate at any time. In the Senate the Chavez bill was also sponsored by Senators Wagner, Murray, Downey, Aiken, Langer, and Capper.

Its counterpart in the House, the Norton bill, is a composite of bills for a permanent FEPC introduced by six Republicans and six Democrats. The Republicans are Baldwin, New York; Bender, Ohio; Clason, Massachusetts; Dirksen, Illinois; La Follette, Indiana; and Vorys, Ohio. The Democrats are Dawson, Illinois; Douglas, California; Doyle, California; Hook, Michigan; Norton, New Jersey; and Powell, New York. The House bill was reported favorably by the House Labor Committee, with only two dissenting votes, Hoffman of Michigan and Fisher of Texas. The former needs no introduction, as they say at banquets, to *Nation* readers. The latter is a sheep-raiser from southwestern Texas near the Mexican border. The House bill was reported out three months ago and has been bottled up ever since in the Rules Committee.

The Rules Committee, theoretically, is the "traffic cop" of the House of Representatives. It is supposed to expedite action, not to block it. It is authorized to determine when it would be best to let a bill move to the floor and what limitations should be imposed on debate. It is not supposed to consider the merits of legislation. It does, of course, constantly exercise an unauthorized veto on legislation and is trying to do so in this case. Its chairman, Sabath, announced on the floor of the House last Wednesday that he was signing the petition for discharge of the Rules Committee so that a vote could be had on the bill. The fate of the discharge petition depends on the Republican Party, which supported the similar petition on the poll-tax bill last week but has until now played a devious role on the FEPC. The four Republican members of the House Rules Committee did indeed vote in favor of the Norton bill but only after helping the Southern Democrats to delay a vote for three months. And the Republicans did not vote for the bill until they were sure there were enough anti-FEPC Democrats present to block it.

Canada Stands Pat

BY MAXWELL COHEN

IN A world and in a generation that has not yet resolved the great social contests between left and right the Canadian people have sought the shelter of the center. The federal election of June 11 has returned Mackenzie King to power with at least 118 "straight" Liberals to support him and another 8 to 16 Independents, many of whom will vote with him on all major issues of confidence. The victory was scarcely a clean-cut one, for Mr. King, needing 123 seats out of 245, will live precariously on the margin of majority, depending often on the balloting bounty of Quebec and other anti-conscriptionist Independents.

As this is being written, the Canadian press tabulation remains the best unofficial source of the distribution of the vote. But since the armed-service vote will not be announced until Monday, June 18—when it will probably account for another four or five hundred thousand—the conclusions to be drawn with respect to specific numbers and certain seats have a necessarily tentative character. Nevertheless, the main outlines of the result are now evident. Of the total Canadian vote cast of 4,622,513—including armed-service personnel resident and voting in their constituencies—the party totals and percentages were as follows:

Party	*Votes*	*Seats*	*Votes*	*Seats*
Liberal	1,809,206	118	39 per cent	48.2 per cent
Progressive Conservative	1,299,484	66	28 " "	26.9 " "
C. C. F.	670,476	26	15 " "	10.6 " "
Social Credit	186,423	13	4 " "	5.3 " "
Labor Progressive	105,409	1	2 " "	.4 " "
Others	551,519	21	12 " "	8.6 " "

Among the "others" are 8 Independent Liberals, 8 Independents, 2 Bloc Populaire, and one or two other new-born and obscure hyphenates.

There is, of course, no glib, short interpretation of this the first major post-war election in any part of the English-speaking world. The Progressive Conservative Party, formed in December, 1942, out of the ranks of the lagging, twice-defeated Conservatives, had great hopes. Mr. King's refusal to introduce compulsory military service for overseas and the resultant series of crises in his Cabinet, in the House, and in popular sentiment—all topped by his piecemeal approach to compulsory reinforcement—provided a natural campaign platform for a party always well within the flag-waving tradi-

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tion. The Progressive Conservatives had written off Quebec and were satisfied to fight on the straight issue of a divided Canada—although Quebec was not entirely outside their calculations, since they probably counted on the Bloc Populaire to help overturn the government should Mr. King's margin turn out to be slim.

At the same time the C. C. F. loomed larger than any third party since the western Progressives under Tom Crerar had challenged the Liberals in the early twenties. In the late fall of 1943 the C. C. F., according to a Gallup poll, had risen to command 29 per cent of the potential vote. In Saskatchewan it swept into power and demolished a provincial Liberal machine that had functioned with only one or two interruptions since 1905. In Ottawa it had mustered ten members by 1944, most of whom were articulate, hard-working, and idealistic and at the same time effective parliamentarians. The troops were becoming partial to change, and more than a quarter of a million uniformed Canadians had lived in the politically leftist climate of the United Kingdom. By 1943-44 the C. C. F. looked like the real thing, an authentic political threat to the major parties.

Meanwhile in Quebec the Liberal government of Premier Godbout was beaten, and in federal politics the extreme French right wing, the French Canadian Bloc Populaire, was making political capital at Mr. King's expense. Only the Labor Progressives, the whilom Communists, were no real threat to Mr. King as the election drew near; they were busily knifing the moderately socialist C. C. F. in almost every urban community. Their "line" now was to rally to those from whom the Big Three and particularly the Soviet Union would receive the most likely support. By these curious standards Mr. King warranted their acclaim and, in the constituencies not contested by them, their votes.

The results of the Ontario election on June 11 changed the pattern of Mr. King's opposition somewhat, but appeared in no way to improve his chances. Premier George Drew was returned to office with immensely increased strength. The Liberals lost some ground, and the C. C. F. representation was whittled down disastrously from thirty-four to seven seats. The province of Ontario, with eighty-two federal seats, appeared to be in the Tories' pocket, and June 11 was just one week away.

Why did the results on June 11 run counter to the logic of political decent developments? Why is Mr. King still Prime Minister? There are at least five facts that help explain the results:

1. The Liberal Party continues to be the only great party with a fully recognizable body of support in every province and region of Canada. And while it has leaned perhaps too heavily on Quebec, it has, nevertheless, a truly national flavor and cuts deeply across class lines. It has found support among big business and small farmers, liberal intellectuals and urban workers.

2. For five and a half years the Liberal government has done a first-class war-time administrative job. Fiscal policy, price and wage control, production policy (farm and industry), the compulsory mobilization and use of labor, the mushrooming of the fighting services, all have been handled competently, without fuss, and in some cases brilliantly.

3. The Canadian people have experienced "full" employment, a wider distribution of more than doubled national income, and a rise in "real" income. War-time prosperity has made them almost forget the bitter frustrations of the depression thirties, when government economic policy was pre-Keynes in method and antediluvian in understanding.

4. Nothing that the progressive Conservatives have offered either in domestic economic policies or in international political and economic ideas sounded more "progressive" or more in tune with the major items of the impending post-war world than had already been set out by the Liberals in platform statements as well as in legislation passed or pending. The voter who had not been convinced by the main P. C. line about Mr. King and Quebec could find little in P. C. declarations or leadership to make him hope that this was the party for an uncertain tomorrow.

5. The C. C. F. declined steadily in the last weeks of the spring down to the very day of the election. In the election, the party that had often appeared to be the spearhead of progressive thinking and action in Canada lost its only seat in Ontario, and although it will come to the House with at least sixteen more seats than it had last time, all but one are from the West. Six months ago it was thought the C. C. F. would win sixty or seventy seats. This loss of ground during recent months is not easy to explain. But undoubtedly the most serious handicap for the socialistic C. C. F. was war-time prosperity—the reality of several years of full employment and rising standards in a liberal capitalist society. Capitalism seemed to be working.

The C. C. F. still spoke the old language of the Fabians, still talked about nationalization, still pointed the moral finger at big business and monopolies. But this was the world of Keynes, Beveridge, and Hansen, where private ownership was subsumed, where the real issues were not refinements in the distribution of the national-income pie but the methods of insuring a greater pie, with improving minimum shares for all. Nor did the C. C. F. learn how to translate the great issues of fascism and anti-fascism—of the potential fascism even in Anglo-American society and therefore even in Canada—into concrete believable terms. Mr. Jolliffe's attempt in the Ontario election to saddle Mr. Drew with the ignominy of a political Gestapo spying on his opposition was apparently not enough out of which to make substantial political capital. And finally the C. C. F. said little to meet the great debate implicit in its program, namely, the struggle between freedom and organization. It said little to assure the relatively inhibited Canadian middle-class voter that the C. C. F. had thought out the problems of curbing and qualifying the administrative power of the bureaucracy which would be needed to carry out any full-scale program of nationalization or of controlled private investments.

For these and doubtless many other reasons Mr. King is Canada's First Minister again. He is committed to the attempt to maintain a high national income and maximized employment and to share in all the international obligations soon to be undertaken by the United Nations. He will have perhaps the strongest opposition in the House that he has had since 1925. But out of its criticism and out of the immense fund of his own experience may emerge a more solid national unity and a more skilful approach to the greater difficulties ahead.

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The OWI Under the Ax

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

Washington, June 14

UNLESS the Senate reverses next week the House action cutting the OWI appropriation for European activities, America will lose a voice on the Continent at precisely the most crucial stage of the post-war battle for men's minds. With President Truman, in his statement of yesterday, backing the OWI's appropriation request, and with protest over this surrender of the still bleeding European field so widespread, the Senate may well restore the cut. However, the issue is still in doubt here, and it needs airing whatever action the Senate takes. OWI activities to date have cost the American people a bit more than the cost of a battleship before the war. The OWI operated last year on about what it costs the United States to run its share of the war four and three-quarters hours. The OWI spent last year 10 per cent of what Dr. Goebbels spent, and a good deal less than American advertisers spend annually to promote the sale of toiletries. Working on this modest budget, the OWI has had considerable success in accomplishing its primary purpose, to save American lives by shortening the war, and its secondary purpose, to win friends and influence people. Impressive evidence on the first count has been presented to Congress in the form of letters and messages of commendation from various theater commanders: the agency's most celebrated accomplishments were the surrender of the Italian fleet, which was engineered by the OWI radio in North Africa, and the mass surrenders of German troops in the Battle of France under a barrage from OWI mobile transmitters. Even General MacArthur, who long frowned on having OWI personnel in his command, has come around, and recently requested an increase in the psychological-warfare staff. On Guam, according to Major General Henry L. Larsen, new psychological-warfare tactics resulted in the highest proportion of Japanese prisoners ever taken; on Saipan the construction of a medium-wave broadcasting station was the first work ordered after the completion of the B-29 air base; a recent editorial in *Stars and Stripes* declared that "words are cheaper than blood, and both are helping to win the war."

Elmer Davis

Confronted with this evidence, the House passed an appropriation of $17,000,000 for psychological warfare in the Pacific. It cut the $17,000,000 appropriation for activities in Europe and the United States, the latter amounting only to $1,225,000. In effect, then, the House said it wasn't interested in the OWI's second objective, to win friends and influence people. A more ill-timed move could hardly be imagined.

Elmer Davis, head of the OWI, presented the case neatly in his recent testimony before the House Appropriations Committee:

> It is evident that the news the Germans are getting now is beginning their education, and every effort is being made to see that the news will give them a real picture of the world they live in—something of which the Nazi government has deprived them for twelve years past. They must learn why they were defeated, why they would certainly be defeated if they ever tried it again, what crimes their army and their government have committed against other nations, why the individuals guilty of those crimes are being punished, and why the Geman people, which permitted them, share in the responsibility. Somebody will have to take over the American part of that job when the OWI is through; the objectives and the processes will have to be laid down by the best combined judgment of the entire government—and any thorough reeducation will cost far more than the modest amount provided in our budget for its beginnings—nevertheless, the OWI and the Army, in partnership, are responsible for those beginnings, which are already under way. Provision for Germans of coldly objective news about what is happening to them and why it is happening, as well as factual reporting of what is going on in the rest of the world, seems the best way we can begin. What is our job in the liberated countries, now that the shooting war is over in Europe? Basically it depends on three facts: . . . there is still a shooting war in the Pacific; there will be American soldiers in some parts of Europe for an indefinite period; and until the conclusion of peace nations which for years have had most of their information about America from hostile sources must be told the truth about America in the hope and confidence that the more they know about us, the more they will be inclined to be well disposed toward this country, and to give their support to American foreign policies and plans for the peace settlement. Wherever and whenever troops of a foreign country are in the midst of a civilian population, even the population of an ally, there is bound to be some friction. To minimize the effects of that friction has been part of the duty of the OWI since its inception in areas so widely scattered as India, Iceland, and Iraq. We have now undertaken that duty, at the urgent request of the army, in France and Belgium.

These objectives—reeducating Germans, insuring the support of liberated countries, and winning acceptance of American troops abroad—are of undeniable importance. Beyond them lies the necessity of presenting the whole picture of American policy, which can only be set forth by the OWI: neither the State nor the War Department is prepared to do

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the job. Surely it is better to have our policy set forth in American terms and by responsible authority than in foreign terms and by irresponsible persons. The only valid test of any activity in war time—or in the present distressingly warlike "post-war" period—is its result, not the motive or the relative inefficiency of the operation, or the personalities of those directing it, or the expense. By this test the OWI has served its purpose; it has produced results within the field to which it was assigned, and that field cannot now be vacated. Propaganda is a continuing process; the OWI changed the whole attitude of Iceland's highly cultured leaders toward the United States with a series of articles and radio programs on American arts and science, and helped further Icelandic cooperation with the United States troops stationed there, but last spring the outpost was closed, leaving the field for British and Russian propaganda. The results are not altogether happy to contemplate.

We may have to get over our abhorrence of "government propaganda," and decide that if we are to live amicably with our neighbors in the world of tomorrow, we had better try to tell them more about what kind of people we are and the way we operate.

Who Fights Health Insurance?

BY GERALDINE SARTAIN

THE battle against health insurance is on again, this time characterized by several new developments. The most important of these are the advertising campaigns promoted by the organized medical profession in its last-ditch stand against what it calls "socialized medicine." One campaign uses the press as its medium and another the air waves. It is interesting to note that in order to underwrite this type of propaganda the doctors had to do a complete about-face and lay aside their traditional opposition to paid advertising.

Even before Senator Wagner introduced the streamlined Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill on May 24, the organized medicos had gone into action. For the fear of "political medicine" has hung over the American Medical Association ever since the late thirties, when Senator Wagner first introduced an extended social-security measure containing insurance provisions that would enable 135,000,000 people to receive comprehensive medical care. His present bill also would provide every man, woman, and child in the country with good medical care, paid for by 1½ per cent of every wage-earner's pay check, plus a like sum from the employer, plus 3 per cent of the earnings of the self-employed, plus government taxes to cover the indigent.

Through the National Physicians' Committee for the Extension of Medical Service, which has the blessing of the A. M. A., a series of six paid advertisements entitled "Editorials to Editors" and designed to reach the thousands of newspaper editors in this country began running last month in *Editor and Publisher* and other newspaper trade journals. Each of the series contains a statement of policy in which the committee frankly admits that it "is utilizing to maximum capacity its resources and organization strength in ceaseless efforts to preserve our system of private enterprise." Nothing is said about preserving the health of the nation.

The advertisements urge editors to tell the American people what perils await them: that their "priceless heritage," the private-enterprise system, is endangered; that "the sacred relationship between doctor and patient" is similarly threatened (no mention is made of the millions of our people who have virtually no relationship with doctors, sacred or otherwise, because they haven't the money to pay for it); that "the sanctity of human personality" will be undermined; that doctors are "to be regimented and made subordinate to the bureaucrat, and the people forced by law to accept such medical care as could be provided by a politically appointed bureaucrat."

John M. Pratt, author of the series, executive administrator and publicity man for the committee, has explained that the idea of propagandizing newspaper editors—at a cost of $7,000 for the six advertisements—was the result of two years of experiment on various approaches "to a very delicate public-relations problem." The problem was solved by slanting the editorials so they would arouse fear, while dark hints that health insurance "is a fatal step toward complete totalitarian control over the lives and destinies of all men" play further upon the emotions.

The radio campaign is a large-scale attempt at direct popular propaganda, using the fear technique also, but more subtly. A weekly fifteen-minute radio series called American Medicine started last fall over twelve stations of the Michigan network under the auspices of the Michigan Medical Society. Now this is planned as a national program to be put on by the medical societies of sixteen states and the District of Columbia. It is a disarmingly friendly program, made up of sweet music with a final commercial plug just before the theme song, "When Day Is Done." This plug contains "a brief message from your family doctor" warning the listeners that "no theoretical plan, government controlled and operated and paid for by taxation, should replace the present plan, which allows you to choose your own doctor." Actually the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill specifically safeguards Mr. and Mrs. America in the right to choose their own doctor and the doctor in his right to choose or reject his patients, as well as to join the new health-insurance system or remain outside it.

The proposed national radio show was auditioned recently by the heads of the seventeen medical societies meeting at the headquarters of the Wayne County (Michigan) Medical Society in Detroit. They promptly voted to underwrite the cost. According to the amusement magazine *Billboard*, the program "is angled at the hottest potato in the field of medical practice today, namely, the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill now before Congress, which sundry medical societies, backboned by anti-Administration pressure groups, have widely smeared with the label of 'socialized medicine.'" A station in Detroit will

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originate the program and feed it to a special network hook-up of eighteen high-power stations if they accept the program.

Some of them refused it after *Billboard* ran a streamer line on its almost full-page story, plus an editorial, warning the radio industry that such special pleading presented in the guise of entertainment is bad for radio. *Billboard* pointed out that the program American Medicine was first turned down by CBS and by stations owned and operated by Columbia because it was controversial. It quoted C. H. Chapman of the Detroit advertising agency handling the program to the effect that it would reach 71,000,000 listeners in 90 per cent of the radio homes at a cost of $70,000 for thirteen weeks. This cost included an $8,000 appropriation for special promotion material to be distributed by doctors belonging to the sponsoring medical societies.

It was figured that the program would cost the 75,000 physicians belonging to the seventeen societies 7 cents a week, or less than $1 a member for the thirteen-week series. The Michigan Medical Society has already spent $21,000 for radio within the borders of the state, *Billboard* estimates, starting with a five-minute show over twelve small stations which was later stepped up to fifteen minutes. Its current program is a dramatized sketch based on "true-to-life" medical experiences from listeners' letters, the bait for the letters being a weekly prize of $35 in war bonds.

These two campaigns, although new and somewhat startling for the medical profession, are a logical development of its line of propaganda during the last few years. The trade association of organized medicine, the American Medical Association—which fought hospital insurance and prepayment health plans in general until it lost its battle against medical cooperatives in the United States Supreme Court—has long been the spearhead of the fight against both compulsory national health insurance and state legislation providing the same benefits. It has now united with some drug manufacturers and casualty-insurance companies, and seeks to woo big business in general. In California the State Medical Society, with the help of chambers of commerce and other business groups, was able to bottle up in committee both Governor Earl Warren's compulsory health-insurance bill and a similar bill put forward by organized labor.

The National Physicians' Committee for the Extension of Medical Service, sponsored by the A. M. A., has for some time been engaged in a double-barreled, three-year campaign, for which it is raising a million and a half dollars, to kill the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill and to push health-insurance coverage by commercial insurance companies. The committee is pursuing this course despite the fact that commercial health insurance offers no medical services but merely cash benefits for hospitalization and surgery—in other words, provides for catastrophic illness only and ignores the preventive aspects of medical care. Moreover, since commercial health insurance offers coverage only to people belonging to sizable employed groups, the great masses of the population are ineligible for its benefits.

At a public meeting last year the committee held out to these companies the lure of a billion dollars in new business. It has already circulated, through drugstores, doctors' offices, and other media, millions of copies of a pamphlet attacking the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill as "political medicine and the socialization of medical practice in the United States." Some *Nation* readers have doubtless received this pamphlet inclosed with their doctors' bills or the packages their druggists hand them. In addition, the committee sends regular releases to 12,000 publications to scare the public away from all government plans, state or federal.

All of this is happening in the face of Senator Wagner's clear-as-glass statement and the plain language of the bill itself. Senator Wagner has said:

> Health insurance is not *socialized* medicine; it is *not* state medicine. It is simply a method of paying medical costs in advance and in average amounts . . . of assuring a person ready access to the medical care that he or she needs by eliminating the financial barrier between the patient and the doctor or the hospital. Therefore it should be obvious that health insurance does not involve regimentation of doctors or patients. Neither do I believe that the doctors of this country will lower the standards of medical care simply because they are guaranteed payment for their services. . . . Social insurance has not interfered with our system of free enterprise; on the contrary, it has helped to make our system of free enterprise operate more smoothly and effectively.

Similarly, Arthur J. Altmeyer, chairman of the Social Security Board, has said:

> We think a good program of social security is absolutely necessary if we are to continue to make economic progress, maintain a stable society, and promote a more productive system of free enterprise. When we loose the chains of fear, we really give enterprise a tremendous boost.

In their opposition to compulsory health insurance the A. M. A. and its allied groups have been joined by the American Bar Association, the United States Chamber of Commerce, some other business groups, hospital organizations with a vested interest in voluntary health insurance, some of the farm agencies, the Health and Accident Underwriters' Conference, which has a vested interest in voluntary plans because of the 30,000,000 health and accident policies and the 16,000,000 hospitalization policies in the United States, the American Taxpayers' Association, and similar groups pledged to keep taxes down. On the other hand, all branches of organized labor are for it, and so are the National Farmers' Union and the National Lawyers' Guild. And one must point out that several organizations of progressive physicians have emerged in the last few years. The most important is the Physicians' Forum, the chairman of which is Dr. Ernst Boas, distinguished New York heart specialist, son of the late renowned anthropologist, Dr. Franz Boas. The Forum is an expanding and militant body with growing influence in both professional and lay circles. It is pledged to support the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill and corresponding legislation. The Committee of Physicians for the Improvement of Medical Care, a small, compact group made up mostly of doctors on the staffs of top-rank medical schools, is another progressive medical body supporting national health insurance.

The battle lines are drawn. Hearings before the Senate Finance Committee and the House Ways and Means Committee are promised for this year. Only a few years ago health insurance was a social problem perceived and understood by a mere handful of persons. Today many national polls show that it is wanted by the majority of the American people.

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Columbia River Bureaucrats

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

THE novel aspect of the fight now gathering strength in the Northwest over the Columbia Valley Authority is found in the fact that two government agencies are playing an active role in organizing the opposition. Though they are traditionally rival agencies, the Army Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation have formed an agreement to oppose the creation of river-valley authorities. Their chief purpose is to forestall a Missouri Valley Authority, but their opposition extends to one for the Columbia.

Both the Army Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation are old-established, highly centralized agencies, with powerful political connections formed over a period of years. Both regard their traditional policies and procedures with a semi-religious veneration. Within the limitations of this attitude, both agencies are efficiently operated and can be credited with truly impressive accomplishments. Enduring examples of the great work they have done may be found throughout the West. In the past they have frequently clashed over matters of policy, but the opposition which they share to integrated regional authorities has effected a reconciliation. Both organizations are today conducting an under-cover campaign against the various proposals to create a Columbia Valley Authority, particularly Senator Hugh Mitchell's Senate Bill No. 460. The Bureau of Reclamation has always regarded power development as incidental to reclamation; the Army Engineers have always thought of it as incidental to navigation and flood control. It is quite natural that the two agencies should be critical of proposals fundamentally at variance with their respective philosophies. But their clandestine alliance with various special-interest groups constitutes a major public scandal.

The link between these agencies and the private interests that oppose a CVA is the National Reclamation Association and its state and regional affiliates. Since "reclamation" is a magic word in the West, the association provides the perfect front for the forces fighting river authorities. For many years the National Reclamation Association has been an arm—more accurately the "private lobby"—of the Bureau of Reclamation. Its officials have always worked in close collaboration with the Commissioner of Reclamation. Like the bureau, the association is interested not in power development but in old-style, single-purpose reclamation projects. It was once a vital and progressive force, but the dirt farmers of the West have gradually withdrawn from membership, and today both the national association and its affiliates are dominated by the railroads and the private power interests.

The campaign against the CVA was launched at the convention of the National Reclamation Association held at Denver in November, 1944. It was apparent to the genuine reclamationists at this meeting that the private power interests were in control. Two basic themes were emphasized—opposition to regional authorities, including a CVA, and praise for the concordat between the Army Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation. Adoption at this meeting of a resolution opposing valley authorities and recommending river development by existing agencies was followed by the adoption of similar resolutions at meetings of the branch organizations.

At these state and regional meetings "the private power boys" were again much in evidence. The chairman of the resolutions committee at the Oregon Reclamation Congress, for example, was the attorney and principal lobbyist for the Pacific Power and Light Company. At a regional meeting held in Spokane a representative of the Washington Water Power Company acted as page and doorkeeper, and the company supplied the stenographic service.

High-ranking officials of the Army Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation also attended the meetings. When called upon to present the point of view of the Bureau of Reclamation on river-valley authorities, one prominent official declined to speak on the ground that the issue was "too hot." The Army Engineers, however, unhampered by any connection with the Department of the Interior, have not hesitated to make known their views. At a recent meeting of the Montana Reclamation Association, Colonel Conrad P. Hardy, district engineer, exclaimed: "While our young men are giving their lives in this war, are we going to let fascism be set up right in this country? Although river authorities are not fascist in name, they are fascist in character." The general strategy of the fight against a CVA was prepared at these meetings, and the delegates were repeatedly assured that "ample funds" would be "forthcoming" to finance the campaign. At the Oregon meeting speakers suggested that the Power Division of the Department of the Interior be abolished and its functions returned to the Bureau of Reclamation.

Next the various state legislatures were urged to go on record against a CVA. A memorial asking Congress to defeat "any bill to establish a Columbia Valley Authority" was approved by the Oregon legislature after it had "studied" Senator Hugh Mitchell's bill for exactly ten minutes. This memorial was introduced at the request of the Oregon Reclamation Association (Portland *Oregonian*, March 3). A regional meeting of the reclamation association was held in Spokane on March 9 for the specific purpose of organizing a grass-roots campaign against a CVA. As a result, resolutions and petitions against Senator Mitchell's bill were adopted by civic groups, chambers of commerce, and similar organizations throughout the Northwest.

Thus a number of interests are lined up against the CVA: two old-line government agencies, with many "friends" throughout the West; the private power interests and the railroads, working through the various reclamation associations; the reclamation associations themselves; the chambers of commerce; and many absentee-owned or -controlled industries. In addition, organized labor is to some extent opposed. In the Northwest the private power interests have shrewdly

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cultivated the political support of organized labor by working out satisfactory agreements with such unions as the electrical workers. Dave Beck, the dominant labor leader in the region, is reported to be unfriendly, if not actively hostile, to the idea of a CVA. Lined up in support of a CVA are the various public-utility districts, the Oregon Grange and the Washington Grange, the C. I. O., and the unnumbered but also unorganized friends of public power throughout the Northwest. Not a single metropolitan newspaper in the area supports the proposed CVA, nor does the rural press, with a few notable exceptions. The fact that the public-power fight cuts across party lines in the Northwest makes it difficult to present the proposal as a clear-cut political issue.

Other federal agencies in the region, while not as actively hostile to a CVA as the Bureau of Reclamation and the Army Engineers, give it only lukewarm support. Some of their officials like to quote Mr. Ickes's remark that the problems of the world cannot be solved "by lighting a candle and intoning 'TVA, TVA, TVA!'" And they stress the differences between the Tennessee Valley and the Columbia Valley. Admittedly such differences exist. Soil-erosion and flood control were important considerations in the Tennessee Valley; neither is a major problem in the Northwest. Irrigation was not greatly needed in the Tennessee Valley; it is of paramount importance in the Columbia basin. The development of domestic water supplies was a need in the Tennessee Valley; it is not particularly urgent in the Columbia Valley. Fishing and lumbering, minor factors in the Tennessee Valley, are major industries in the Northwest. There were no pre-existing reclamation projects in the Tennessee as there are in the Columbia Valley, and the problem of government lands was not involved. In considering the powers to be granted to a Columbia Valley Authority these differences should be carefully examined, but they should not be permitted to obscure the necessity for regional planning. It was required in the Tennessee Valley to rehabilitate an area; it is required in the Northwest to develop an area.

The really important difference between the two regions lies in the fact that existing government agencies had confessed their inability to solve the problems of the Tennessee Valley. The TVA did not have to cope with the opposition of such powerful agencies as the Bureau of Reclamation and the Forestry Service. While Mr. Ickes, by his support of river-valley authorities, has indicated a commendable willingness to permit the reorganization of the Department of the Interior, his subordinates will stubbornly resist such proposals.

A major reorganization of all federal agencies concerned with the protection and utilization of natural resources is implicitly involved in the idea of river-valley authorities. In the past such agencies have functioned nationally in their specific separate fields—wild life, parks, forests, soils, or mineral resources; the success of the TVA shows the value of a different approach—of an integrated development of natural resources on a regional basis. For this the most efficient tool is the public corporation.

While the need for a reorganization of federal agencies concerned with natural resources was not stressed in the fight for the TVA, it will be a major issue in the fight for the Western valley authorities, those proposed for the Columbia, Rio Grande, Central, and Missouri rivers. The public should therefore scrutinize carefully any changes President Truman may make in the Cabinet. To supplant Mr. Ickes, for example, with some Westerner identified with the work of the Bureau of Reclamation or the Army Engineers, whatever his reputation as a "conservationist" or "reclamationist," would certainly not improve the prospects for the early establishment of a Columbia Valley Authority. As a doughty fighter, Mr. Ickes is just the man to deal with the bureaucratic collaborationists in the Department of Interior. At the proper time and place he can be relied on to curb their thinly veiled political activities against the public interest.

[*This is the last of three articles on the development of the Columbia River Valley and the need for a CVA.*]

In the Wind

ERICH VON KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN, journalistic apologist for Franco and the House of Hapsburg, has dropped the pseudonym "Francis Stuart Campbell." His articles are now signed "Richard F. Kestrick."

THE COLE CHEMICAL COMPANY of St. Louis is currently advertising "Bral—for Relief of Hangovers" in medical publications. With each advertisement is a postcard which a doctor may send for a professional sample.

RIDERS ON THE SUBWAYS of New York can now contemplate these two advertisements: (1) "Meet Miss Subways—Charming Veronica Robinson. Blue-eyed and lovely, Veronica is a statistician who dreams of being a model." (2) "'Low, I am with you always.'—Mathew 20:20. Best Seller Publicity of New York."

V. S. PRITCHETT, the urbane London diarist of England's *New Statesman and Nation*, records in the issue of May 19 a conversation he had with a horse on V-E Day. "A damn good thing it's over," said the horse. "Now we can get rid of . . . all these damn regulations and damn foreigners, Dutch, French, Greeks, the whole damn lot. Send the Jews back to Palestine, the Americans back to America, the Italians back to Italy. They've been the ruin of this damn country, filling it with half-caste Negro babies. It will take us two generations to recover from it, and unless we put some discipline into people this poor old country will sink to the level of the damn Portuguese." "At which," says Mr. Pritchett, "she cantered off. Quite a number of the damned horses in my part of the country think like this. What have all these foreigners done for us (they ask) that they should now eat our food? One of the repressed emotions of the war: Xenophobia is about to be released like poison gas."

LEGISLATIVE MEMO: The salaries of postal employees range from $1,200 a year to $2,100. A temporary cost-of-living bonus, amounting to $300, will expire June 30. The Post Office Employees' Salary Reclassification bill, which would grant a permanent increase of $400, has been passed by the House and is now in the Senate Committee on Post Offices, headed by Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee. This would be the first permanent increase since 1925.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.*]

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Bulgaria from the Inside

BY CONSTANTINE POULOS

Sofia, June 2

IN GREECE people say, "Wait until the British troops leave." In Bulgaria they say, "Wait until the Russians leave."

It may be too early to judge, but in both countries the failure of Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States to agree on a constructive post-war policy is apparently having tragic consequences. The people of these countries, one a long-time ally and the other a former Axis satellite, are being squeezed between the conflicting purposes of Tory Britain and Russia. In Greece the British have suppressed a popular movement and strangled the hopes of the Greek people for social and economic freedom. As a result, fascists and quislings are now riding herd over the patriots who not only resisted the Germans but preserved the faith of the Greek people in an Allied victory. In Bulgaria made-in-Moscow Communists are attempting to shape a popular movement according to Russia's needs. The typical trappings of Communist strategy—despotism, maneuvers, seduction, and the repression of existing or potential opposition—threaten to revive the old sharp antagonisms and to prevent the free social development of the Bulgarian people.

Instead of an honest understanding between England and Russia, which would develop into a common effort to help small nations like Greece and Bulgaria to work out their economic and social salvation, we have, on the one hand, British intervention to stifle a social revolt, and, on the other, Soviet determination to exercise complete control over a people's government. The alternative to such one-sided, selfish action—joint Allied action in support of the truly democratic socialist movements which have developed naturally out of the liberation struggle—has been made impossible by the struggle for strategic bases and spheres of influence.

The chief onus falls on British Tory policy. Long before Tito had rallied the majority of Yugoslavs to the partisan cause, long before Bulgaria came under Communist influence, even before the Greek Communists had escaped from the island dungeons of Metaxas, which were turned over intact to the Nazis by the King's ministers, the British decision to maintain control of Greece was publicly proclaimed. In other words, the pretense that Britain acted suddenly in Greece to prevent the bolshevization of the Balkan peninsula and the extension of Russian influence to the Mediterranean should be respectfully interred. Prime Minister Churchill's barefaced reactionary solution in Greece was certainly a challenge to the Soviet Union, and after last December's sordid events in Athens the Russian grip on Bulgaria inevitably tightened.

Russian interference in Bulgaria has not yet reached the degree of British intervention in Greece, even though Bulgaria, unlike Greece, was behind an active war front. The presence of Russian troops enables the Bulgarian Communist Party—the favored political party of the occupying forces, according to the Teheran formula—to dominate the present Fatherland Front government of Bulgaria, an unnatural coalition of the Agrarian, Communist, Social Democrat, and Zveno parties, the last-named made up of reactionary army officers and conservative intellectuals. Among other important factors which strengthen the position of the Bulgarian Communists is the hope that Russia will oppose the efforts of those members of the United Nations which want to make Bulgaria pay heavily for its alliance with Hitler. There are also a number of sincere Agrarian leftists who fear that a break-up of the coalition might ease the way for such a bloody suppression of popular forces as took place in 1923-25; they therefore favor close cooperation with the Communists even though for the present it means playing a subordinate role. Bulgarian Socialists, far to the left of the Communists, are supporting the government because they believe that the present opportunity to start the Bulgarian nation on a new path toward progress and democracy should not be lost. The liberal, non-Communist youth look across the border at the fascists holding sway in Greece and draw closer to Russia.

Thus the influence wielded by the Bulgarian Communist Party today is far out of proportion to its actual size. Controlling the Ministry of Interior and the national militia, it is trying to force unquestioning adherence to the party line by all Bulgarians and to strengthen its position for the eventual showdown. Though none of the honest Democrats or Agrarians desire the dissolution of the Fatherland Front, they are determined, especially since they have seen the Communists in action, to cut the Communist Party down to its real strength by a revision of the relationship of the parties and by obtaining their participation in the government on the basis of actual membership. Now that the war is over, this will be done as soon as it seems possible without incurring the wrath of the Russians. The only danger that this internal showdown will be violent and bloody comes from the military, who are professionally inclined toward a coup d'état, and from opportunist agrarians, conservative intellectuals, and chauvinist politicians who fear the increasing power of the workers and socialist trends among the peasants.

Undeniably the Fatherland Front government has brought Bulgaria a long way since the bloodless revolt of September 9, 1944, which followed the Russian declaration of war and the entrance of Russian troops into the country. A Bulgarian army fought with the Russians against the Germans in Hungary. Most of the men who formulated and carried out the pro-Nazi policy have been punished. Many social and economic reforms have been initiated: the democratic organization of cooperatives has been encouraged, higher education is being decentralized, and laws for the protection of workers' rights have been strengthened. A trade agreement has been signed with the Soviet Union, and diplomatic relations have been reestablished with Yugoslavia.

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On the other side of the ledger, altogether too many middle- and upper-class Bulgarians still smugly defend Boris's pro-Nazi policy as having been in the best interest of the country. "It kept us out of trouble," they say, "and besides what else could we do? Our only mistake was to declare war on Great Britain and the United States." They ignore the various anti-Allied acts of the pro-Nazi government. They don't like to talk about how Bulgaria supplied the Germans with coal, bolstered the German economy in other ways, and policed sections of Greece and Yugoslavia for the Nazis. They try to forget their part in stripping Yugoslav territory of all livestock and food products and in stealing tobacco, grain, wine, and olive oil from Greece—even the books from its public libraries. They see nothing significant in the fact that Bulgaria has suffered less than any other belligerent country on the Continent. Only the effects of our very successful political bombings of Sofia hint that the war passed this way. Food is abundant, the faces of the people glow with health, and in the fields one sees plenty of livestock. The trains, hotels, restaurants, shops, and bars are crowded with people whose pockets are full of money.

These Bulgarians want the Russian soldiers to leave because then, they think, the workers' aspirations can be curbed; the Russians irk them, moreover, by parking their tanks on the courts of the Tennis Club. As in Greece, the pro-Nazis, the anti-Semites, the non-resisters, and the war profiteers have all become vociferous pals of the Anglo-Americans.

Their attitude, however, does not alter the basic fact that the present government of Bulgaria represents not only an honest effort to break with the past but also the stirrings of awakened peasants and workers who are trying to keep step with the forward march of peasants and workers in other European countries. The workers who took part in a great May Day parade in Sofia were resolute and proud, enthusiastically demonstrating their strength. Like the Greek workers and peasants before the British intervened, the Bulgarian workers and peasants are expressing a strong will for freedom—not just their dislike of the King, their desire for bread and work, but their will to abolish tyranny over their lives and minds. In Greece the British ruthlessly drove this feeling as far underground as it had been under Metaxas, and in Bulgaria the Russians are disciplining it according to a strict party pattern. The Greek workers who demanded "bread and work" last fall are now dead, in jail, or terrorized into silence. The Bulgarian workers who recently made similar demands were publicly denounced by the Communists as diversionists and enemies of the state; a handful of coal miners who struck for higher wages in March were castigated as "anarchists" and rushed off to jail by the Communist-controlled militia.

Possibly Russia's attitude can be explained in terms of the insecurity it feels, of its belief that the capitalist countries are resuming the below-the-belt opposition they gave up in 1941. The Russians know that the British deliberately encouraged anti-Russian feeling in Greece to such an extent that regular Greek soldiers in Salonika beat up Soviet soldiers who had been German prisoners of war ("They were not Russians, they were Armenians," was the comment of the British consul-general in Salonika) and in Athens tore down photographs of Stalin and burned the Soviet flag.

The Russians know that after the liberation of Greece the British told the Greek people that for them the war was over, that they had contributed far beyond their full measure to the common struggle. The resistance forces were urged to lay down their arms and return to their homes and fields to take up the task of reconstruction. Yet three months later the British helped the puppet Plastiras to raise and equip an army of 300,000 carefully selected anti-Communists, thousands of whom had been members of the Nazi-created Security Battalions. For what? The Russians have good reason to fear that the British are trying to build up Greece, and Turkey too, as a buffer state. And so we have a vicious circle—and the Russians do not stay the hand of the Bulgarian Communists.

The war ends on this sour note. The common people of Greece and Bulgaria, full of hope for democratic, socialist development, for peaceful regeneration and lasting happiness, are trapped between reactionary intervention which is destroying their hope and strength, and restrictive interference which denies them freedom of action and expression. The tragedy of this, as Harold Laski and many others have so often pointed out, is that the United States, symbol of liberty, trusted and respected by the Russians as well as by the common people of Bulgaria and Greece, could have acted as the balance wheel. It could have insisted on a middle course and saved these people from the pressure of the extremes. The revolution could have been guided, instead of being crushed.

In the decisive past two years the respect and trust for the United States which Wendell Willkie aptly labeled "a reservoir of good will" has been utterly wasted by indecision, appeasement, and reaction. We failed to live up to the American promise because we failed to comprehend the social upheaval that was closely linked with the anti-fascist liberation struggle and turned up our noses at the awakened popular forces of Southeastern Europe. We flirted publicly with Otto; we dismissed men from the Greek section of the OWI's Overseas Branch because they dared to mention the E. A. M. in broadcasts to Greece; we stopped the Bulgarian section of the OWI from broadcasting denunciations of King Boris and his policies to the Bulgarian people; we forbade the Italian section to refer to the Italian partisans as "partisans"; we closed our eyes to the struggle in Yugoslavia and tried to make believe that Tito didn't exist; we listened to decadent diplomats and prejudiced missionaries who told us that the people of Rumania and Hungary didn't want democracy.

Today any change may be too late. Our influence and prestige are no longer enough. Our talk of free government and economic well-being sounds very hollow to the frightened, confused people of Europe's small nations who are huddled on the sidelines watching the British and the Russians maneuver. Our task has become more difficult and our obligations greater. We must move quickly and effectively if we are to obtain for the common people of the world security and material plenty without a sacrifice of personal and political freedom. It is, of course, far more likely that this heavy task will fall to the British Labor Party and the British workers. But how much greater would be the chance of averting the new catastrophe if the United States did its share!

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

AUSTRALIA is coming to seem very close. It appears that the American editor of *Angry Penguins* is in New York, and he has sent *The Nation* a long angry letter about my comments on the Ern Malley hoax with the demand that it be printed in full. He obviously has picked up Australian ideas of space which don't apply to these pages. Here are the more pertinent parts of his letter.

> In *The Nation* of May 5 your literary editor returns to the Australian literary magazine *Angry Penguins,* and in her double-jointed summary of the Affaire Malley she commits errors of fact and at least one error in spelling, which error gives the impression that she is as authoritative as some theater and literary critics who neither bother their objectivity too much by going to the play or by turning a page of a closed book. . . .
>
> If Miss Marshall had read the poems and comments with less fulsome dispatch she would have correctly read the name of Lieutenant McAuley. He becomes McAuliffe in her perception and column, and three times tried at that. Further, Miss Marshall correctly objects to the philistines, noting that the hoax, to them, now discredits modern poetry. Yet she quotes a philistine point of view by Dorothy Green which has the added virtue of stemming from the Communist literary front and is intended to add discredit, not only to the Malley poems as a whole or in part, but to any avant-gardism not seeing eye to eye with them. . . . The Herbert Read cable was followed by a letter from Read which illustrated a point of view held by T. S. Eliot (to be published later) and by many other critics, but Miss Marshall preferred [to quote] the telegraphic response. . . .
>
> . . . A recent note from a friend in Sydney establishes the fact that Lieutenant McAuley is now writing in his best Malley form, as a convinced disciple of his own creation. Read the poems, Miss Marshall.

I apologize—to Lieutenant McAuley—for turning him into McAuliffe. Mrs. Green may be a philistine. The remarks I quoted were not of that order. As for her politics, my opposition to party-liners would be ill served if I resorted to their own tactics and denied the soundness, in this case, of Mrs. Green's observations merely because she is a Communist. For the rest, I did read the poems—that old and by now toothless saw used by critics of critics, namely, the charge that "he didn't even read the book," really ought to be retired; I quoted their defenders; I attacked the philistines. To be sure, I also gave the editors of *Angry Penguins* due credit for providing the philistines with so fine an opportunity. Was I expected to insist that the poems were authentic—no matter how authentic a poet may have invented them—when they had been proved otherwise?

The most interesting item in the letter is the news that Lieutenant McAuley is now writing in the Malley manner.

A FEW WEEKS AGO I made some rather sad remarks about the passive non-resistance of American movie audiences. I should have gone on to say that I don't for a moment think that all the people all the time are taken in by the idiotic situations, the unlikely characterizations, and the false values of the radio, the movies, the pulps. They *are* taken in by the assumption that they can't do anything about it. What this country needs is ten thousand cat-call clubs, equipped with boos and penny postcards and dedicated to the proposition that the laws of credibility, if not of aesthetics, should be observed. I can already see the march on Hollywood—and I think the police would go over to the people.

Take, for instance, the Utah ranch home portrayed in "Thunderhead." The rancher and his family are no richer than most Utah ranch people, but they live in an elegant fieldstone house straight out of Westchester and furnished by *House Beautiful.* No wonder I had my doubts about the authenticity of the behavior of the horses. And I couldn't help thinking how good the picture might have been if it had conveyed the real quality of ranch life.

"YOU ARE CURIOUS TO KNOW," writes the principal of a school in Detroit, "what [advertising] material is being used in the schools." Then he continues:

> Literally tons of advertising material is sent openly into the schools in the form of "helps" to teachers—much better "helps" than the taxpayers are willing to pay for by taxation. Of course they pay for the advertising. Overworked and naive teachers gobble up these colorful charts, booklets, cut-outs, pictures, essay contests, etc.
>
> Administrators and executives are dined and fussed over. Just today I "missed" a dinner given by the Chamber of Commerce. Superintendent Stoddard of Philadelphia said last month that "the marriage of business and education must be consummated." What have we been up to all these years?

THE *SATURDAY EVENING POST* came out for Gertrude Stein in its issue of May 12. In an editorial it called "Wars I Have Seen" a "mighty fine book" and even put forth an ingenious and amusing defense of Miss Stein's grammar. "Some people think that [hers] is a cockeyed way of writing, but you could say that it is actually in the great tradition of American letters—that is, you could if you included in that tradition the testimony of eminent Americans before investigating committees." Then the editorial quotes two examples:

> But it got along in the winter, and then it came February, as I seem to recall it, of 1934, and my company got a telegram, the General Motors people got a telegram, and all the companies that were in the automobile manufacturers' code got telegrams; and the same telegram went to the President of the United States, and the same telegram went to General Hugh Johnson, the head of the National Recovery Administration. It was like these telegrams that go about now.
>
> It had not been many months before that I had been here in Detroit many long weeks in the interest of the company I represent because the banks had closed, and with the banks the automobile plants were practically closed and it was a very serious thing.

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by M. J. COLDWELL

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I HAVE A SUMMARY of an interesting report on the winter theater season in Rome which was written for the Italian newspaper *Il Popolo* by Dr. Carlo Trabucco. American plays aroused the greatest interest. These included Clare Boothe Luce's "The Women," Irwin Shaw's "The Gentle People," John Steinbeck's "The Moon Is Down," Lillian Hellman's "Watch on the Rhine," and Ernest Hemingway's "The Fifth Column." I'm not surprised to hear that "The Women" had a great success. "The Gentle People" was also popular. The other three were "not warmly received." The Germans of Steinbeck and Hellman, according to Dr. Trabucco, seemed unreal to the Italians, who have so far not met with "such romantic and generous Germans." I haven't seen "Watch on the Rhine," but I should agree with the Roman verdict on "The Moon Is Down." On the other hand, Lincoln Kirstein reported that the Steinbeck play was liked in France.

Mr. Kirstein reports, incidentally, that the Austrians, "with a heavy German accent," refer to Hitler not as the Führer but as GAK and GROFAZ. "The way they say it," he adds, "it sounds wonderfully filthy." GAK stands for *Ganz Alte Kampfer* (Real Old Fighter); GROFAZ for *Grösste Feldherr Aller Zeit* (Greatest War Lord of All Time).

Mr. Kirsten has also sent me two items about Knut Hamsun, recently arrested. One reports that Hamsun had a nervous breakdown when he heard that Germany had capitulated. The other quotes an article Hamsun published in the Norwegian paper *Aftenposten*:

> I am not worthy to speak noisy words on Adolf Hitler, and his life and work present no opportunity for sentimentalities. He was a fighter—a fighter for humanity—and it was his mission to proclaim the gospel of the rights of every nation. His was the figure of a reformer of the highest rank. It was his historic destiny to live in an era of unparalleled brutality, to which he finally succumbed. This is the view which all ordinary Western Europeans can take of Adolf Hitler. And we his intimate disciples bow our heads in face of his death.

"Ordinary Western Europeans" would certainly be the first to admit that Hitler succeeded in "reforming" large segments of humanity into blood and soil. Buchenwald and Dachau were only the most impressive of the graveyards he built.

"Poisonous Honey Brought from France"

THE AESTHETIC ADVENTURE. By William Gaunt. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.

MR. GAUNT begins his survey of the aesthetic movement with Gautier and ends it with Roger Fry, whose theory of Significant Form he calls "art for art's sake brought up to date." Obviously this is a considerable field to treat in a 250-page book crowded with names and picturesque details. There is, to be sure, a theory to account for the rise and fall of aestheticism, but it serves chiefly to furnish some sort of cohesion, and the stress is upon narration and description. All the principal figures get at least one anecdote, plus a brief characterization; some of the lesser ones, including the unfortunate Simeon Solomon, who

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damned himself as irretrievably as Baudelaire or Wilde but got no more for his soul than Enoch Soames got, come in for proportionately fuller treatment. The stories of Whistler's suit against Ruskin and of Oscar Wilde's condemnation are also told well, even though they have been told a good many times before, and certainly the book is an entertaining potpourri. Perhaps it is also the best rapid survey of the whole field, though it obviously cannot go very deeply into the work or character of any one man.

Possibly the aesthetic movement doesn't deserve much fuller treatment. Chesterton once remarked that there are two ways of being a slave to the public: one way is to be afraid to disagree with it; the other to be afraid to agree. And it may be persuasively argued that even the biggest men who linked themselves with the movement—even, let us say, Baudelaire and Whistler—were too much concerned with the trivial business of shocking the public, too much therefore slaves of the public, to be really of the very first class.

Mr. Gaunt's theory is that the aesthetic movement began in France as a protest against the philistinism of the post-Napoleonic era. "Thus," he writes, "the artists were gradually forced by circumstances into the position of an aristocracy. The squalor of bohemianism was an accident. . . . With contempt for those who did not understand there grew up the feeling that art was necessarily divorced from the common affairs of men." Here the disputable word is "forced." I realize, of course, that during the decade now just past the tendency has been to assume that everything and everybody is always "forced"—usually by something called "conditions"—to be whatever it or he is. But I wonder whether it is not the business of a good man or a good artist to refuse to be precisely what "conditions" force him to be, and I wonder whether, indeed, one of the measures of the goodness of either a man or an artist is not just his ability to resist this "forcing." From what I read here and there I gather that Evil with a big "E" and even Original Sin are coming into favor again with certain philosophers. Personally I am not too much attracted by theological terms, but I must say that until it can be shown much more conclusively than it ever has been that men who have been exposed to the same "conditions" behave in the same way, I think it necessary to assume the existence of some force operating from outside these conditions. Henry James and Emily Dickinson did not waste so much of their time shocking the public as Oscar Wilde and Swinburne did. Does that mean merely that they were not "forced" by so many "conditions," or does it mean that they were better artists and therefore less slaves to the public?

Mr. Gaunt remarks shrewdly that the "aesthetic man," a creature who recognizes no duties and pursues no interests except those of art, is a fiction comparable to the "economic man" postulated by a different set of theorists. In the words of the aesthetes "great thoughts, great emotions were lacking. They were, indeed, deliberately avoided." But as Chesterton, again, pointed out, the most damning charge which can be brought against the aesthetes is that they were frauds, that they did not practice what they preached. Art, they said, has nothing to do with morality, or as Wilde put it, "there is no

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such thing as a moral or immoral book." But many, perhaps most of them, were actually, like Wilde himself, obsessed by morality, and the fact that it was morality in reverse does not change the result. Few Victorians ever strove more persistently to be pure than Wilde strove to be perverse, and the limitations which he thereby imposed upon himself were, if anything, narrower than those of the most rigid bourgeois respectability. The Hays Office is no doubt a bad influence upon the present-day movie. But it is probably not nearly so deadening as it would be if, as the result of some fantastic change of policy, it should draw up a code designed to guarantee conspicuous and pervasive naughtiness in every film turned out.

Few will be disposed to dispute the conclusion that the "nineties grow smaller" in retrospect, but some may wonder whether it is equally certain that "there was in total result a grain of beauty, impossible to weigh and estimate against the insignificant expenditure of lives." Even as a destructive force used to disrupt an ossified Victorianism the aesthetic movement was far less effective than was that sponsored by such new prophets and preachers as Wells and Shaw—possibly because, as the latter insisted, man is so incorrigibly a moral animal that it is always to the preaching of a new morality, never to the mere denial of any current moral code, that he responds. Moreover, even the puritan Shaw forgets to be instructive rather more often than most of the aesthetes forgot to be perverse. They used to pretend that the perception of beauty could not really begin until one had got over being shocked. The truth is that when one ceases to be shocked, one ceases to find any interest in most of their writing. It is shocking or it isn't anything—which is why it is read chiefly by the very young—in mind if not in years.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

BRIEFER COMMENT

Business Man's Dream

ALTHOUGH LISTED AS A SERIOUS BOOK on economics, "Prosperity—We Can Have It if We Want It," by Murray Shields and Donald B. Woodward (McGraw-Hill, $2), really belongs in the class of light summer fiction. It is, in fact, a veritable tale of Scheherazade that the economist of the Irving Trust Company and the assistant to the president of the Mutual Life Insurance Company have concocted for the delectation of tired business men. It is a tale of a business men's paradise, where the New Deal ogres are chained down, where corporations literally do not have enough taxes to worry about, where the cost of running the government in the post-war period—outside of interest on the debt—is far less than even before the war although the business men's income is tripled or quadrupled, where business men dress up as Santa Clauses the whole year round and through "plastics, electronics, synthetics, and innumerable other magic procedures . . . give to us more than any Christmas tree of our childhood promised in our fondest expectations to contain"—a paradise, in short, where all of us, rich and poor, live in a perpetual "age of miracles, and the greatest miracle of all is the certain knowledge that tomorrow will contain a greater miracle than today."

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The title of the book is quite appropriate. All that is necessary for business men to do in order to get their prosperity is, first, to eat a good dinner at the club, then sit back in a comfortable overstuffed chair, light up a king's-size perfecto—and dream.

BENJAMIN GINZBURG

The Jewish Case

ERNST FRANKENSTEIN, an eminent German-Jewish émigré jurist, has presented the case for a Palestinian homeland for the Jews as persuasively as it can be stated in "Justice for My People" (Dial, $2.50). "The Jewish people," he declares, "will never commit suicide or slowly disintegrate under the impact of Communist or internationalist tendencies. Since, then, the Jewish problem will not be solved by the disappearance of the people, there is no alternative but the removal of Jewish homelessness." This excellent treatise is somewhat marred by a note of pretentiousness. There is no reason why any author, writing on this subject, should say: "I have tried to state the [Jewish] case to the best of my powers. Another man might have succeeded better. But none was there to take up the task, and my people could wait no longer." Such a statement makes sense only if the author is thinking of the strictly "legal" case which he presents. The case has frequently been presented in non-legal terms. Actually this, as many another cause of justice, is not most persuasive in its strictly legal terms. The morality of the issue outweighs the question of legality.

Uriah Zevi Engelman's "Rise of the Jew in the Western World" (Behrman's Jewish Book House, $3) is an invaluable historical study of the social and economic evolution of Jewry in Western Europe from the beginning of the Diaspora through the development of bourgeois society. Population and other social statistics add valuable data to the social study. The thesis of the volume is succinctly expressed in its closing sentence: "Jewish modern population expansion came with liberal capitalism. Will it go down with it?"

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

The German Character

IS NATIONAL CHARACTER AN ILLUSION as Hamilton Fyfe thinks, or is it a reality as Emil Ludwig wants us to believe? A century ago the German was generally supposed to be intelligent, kindly, peaceable, gently patriotic, fond of music and of home. An entirely different character grins at us from the portrait Ludwig offers in his recent book, "The Moral Conquest of Germany" (Doubleday, Doran, $2). The Germans are eternally dissatisfied; Faust is the typical German. They crave power, we are told, but at the same time their ambition is to obey; they are inclined to harshness, do not know or love liberty, and have a mystical urge for expansion. German nationalists as a rule have insisted upon the fixity and clarity of their abstract character. It is surprising, therefore, that Ludwig too believes "there is hardly any difference between the German character of eighty years ago and the type which will be found by the armies of occupation." This divergence of views on the immutability of the national character would matter less were it not for the conclusion that the treatment of Germany should be based upon

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the analysis of this character, of which Goethe and Beethoven, Hindenburg and Hitler are assumed to be equally representative.

Generally speaking, it is correct that "the true German intelligentsia has for four hundred years remained without influence on public affairs," but the treatment of Germany suggested by Ludwig does not guarantee the restoration of this influence. In the rules for American occupation officers he warns against professors and "scholars" as the most dangerous group. With respect to disarmament, including the production of toy arms, Ludwig indorses the program of Lord Vansittart: "I would give to all Germans a full life and a full larder, but keep their arsenals empty." However, re-education can scarcely be achieved by refusing the Germans permission to travel outside of Germany, by suppressing the freedom of the press, by burning all Nazi books, by banning Wagner from the stage, by humiliating the German people, by "the dismissal of four thousand university teachers," in short, by imitating Nazi methods. The homeopathic treatment of megalomania seems scarcely to fit the aim of instilling "tolerance and liberalism."

RUSTEM VAMBERY

Study of Colonial Agents

DR. ELLA LONN, professor of history at Goucher College and author of several excellent monographs on the Civil War period, enhances her already fine reputation with a study of the men who represented Maryland, Virginia, Georgia, and the Carolinas in London during our colonial period. "*The Colonial Agents of the Southern Colonies*" (University of North Carolina Press, $5) discusses the beginnings of the practice of sending agents, the manner of their selection, their duties, their contacts with the colonial legislatures, their cooperation with British merchants, and their successes and failures.

Readers will be amazed at the diversity and difficulty of the work of these colonial agents. Few other than specialists in the area have realized the extent either of their duties or of their successes. The writing and teaching of colonial history will be enriched by Dr. Lonn's careful research. This book has an excellent index, a very fine bibliography, and extensive footnotes. The author displays to a high degree the qualities of a fine historian—objectivity, logical organization, a clear interesting style, a sure grasp of the material, and excellent synthesis.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

FICTION IN REVIEW

IF WALTER VAN TILBURG CLARK'S new novel, "The City of Trembling Leaves" (Random House, $3), proved to be at all to my liking, I had intended, before writing about it, to read "The Ox-Bow Incident," his highly esteemed first novel. But the 690 pages of Mr. Clark's present book—it is the detailed story of the boyhood and young manhood of one Timothy Hazard of Reno, Nevada—strained my endurance to the point where no consideration of critical thoroughness could persuade me to pursue this intention. "The Ox-Bow Incident" has been described to me as a tightly knit, dramatic

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narrative, very much in contrast to the loosely constructed, undramatic "City of Trembling Leaves," and it has even been suggested that in actual composition the second novel may be the earlier work. Be that as it may, I am content to let it rest that "The Ox-Bow Incident" was all it was said to be and that it is only on Mr. Clark's new novel that my opinion diverges so sharply from majority opinion.

I find little virtue in "The City of Trembling Leaves" and a myriad of all too familiar modern vices, of style and thinking and feeling. It is a novel of boogie-woogie *Weltschmerz*, an anatomy of the melancholy that seems to flourish in the shadow of the bandstand. I have often referred to the influence of hot jazz on current fiction: the more novels I read which are written in the rhythm and vernacular of hot-jazz addiction, and geared intellectually to the level of popular music, the more my distaste for the jazz idiom in literature crystallizes into solid prejudice. This is certainly not to attack popular music, or to offer a low estimate of people to whom jazz is more important than it is to me. It is simply to take a firm position against treating the novel as if it were generated as far below the head as, I gather, hot-jazz music is. And if it will be protested that jazz is an art, if a popular one, with its own discipline and cerebration, then I, in turn, must protest that its discipline and cerebration are not of a kind which artists in literature can borrow to any good purpose. No more than a novelist can gainfully follow the direction of, say, non-representational painting, can the novelist gainfully assimilate to himself the thought processes of the jazz musician.

Here, for instance, is a sample of what I mean by the jazz thinking of "The City of Trembling Leaves"; it is the closing passage of a letter in which Mr. Clark's hero discusses "The Education of Henry Adams":

> "So I told Adams one more thing, in order that I should remember it myself. 'Adams,' I said, 'your trouble, after all, wasn't that you wanted too big and too soon. You really wanted the past, Adams, and not enough to go around. You didn't want out, Adams; you wanted in.'
>
> "And I asked him one last nasty question.
>
> "'Adams, weren't you in love with a stained-glass Virgin?'"

Mr. Clark's protagonist has already discredited Adams by calling him to account for not properly appreciating Lincoln (the relation, by the way, between left-progressive political attitudes and hot jazz in current fiction is itself a big, provocative subject which I hope some day soon to have time to dwell on) and by paralleling a thirteenth-century peasant contemplating the stained-glass Virgin and a twentieth-century boy gazing in awe at a new motor car. Surely this is a style of thought which, if not bred in the murky atmosphere of the jazz hangout, would nowhere be more quickly taken for the happy light of a real mind-at-work. Nor do the high Nevada mountains to which Mr. Clark flees from the dark smoky places purify his thinking; they only embarrassingly exalt it. To one reader, Mr. Clark's novel has a way of being cheapest when it reaches for the highest peaks. This is also true of Timothy Hazard's symphony—he is a serious composer as well as an inspired jazz player—which reads on paper like nothing so much as a Hollywood dream of musical stupendousness.

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The point is, of course, that no novel is bigger than its people and that Timothy Hazard and his associates, although they are considered by their author to be persons of stature and dignity, are actually third-rate types. This is not as apparent in the first half of "The City of Trembling Leaves," where Tim is still a boy and his biography is chiefly a morbidly protracted shadow-fight with sex, as it is when Tim and his friends grow up and their sentimental maunderings are presented as mature struggles for salvation, their beery bitterness as a tragic commentary on the life of the artist. "You and I tasted the worm with the nipple, Hazard," one of Timothy's painter friends finally puts it; and there is no one even to whisper whatever it is that describes the next degree of the maudlin and platitudinous after "corny."

I read another long book this week, Mary Lavin's "The House in Clewe Street" (Little, Brown: Atlantic Monthly Press, $3)—530 pages. Miss Lavin's novel has none of the inflated quality of Mr. Clark's book; indeed it has none of the obvious modern vices except wordiness; and Miss Lavin's words, although far too many, are almost excessively tempered. "The House in Clewe Street" is what is called, I think, an estimable book, a three-generations portrait of an Irish small-town, middle-class family, done with sympathy and sobriety but crying aloud for both the editorial scissors and creative flair. Even as a change from the self-indulgence and pretentiousness of most contemporary writing, it is hardly worth getting excited about.

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

PROBABLY no one will ever know why there were two "Hot Mikados" a few years ago or why there should appear now, within a week of each other, two modernized versions of "Pinafores." One of these "Pinafores" keeps some of the old words but rescores the music as "swing"; the other sets an entirely new book to the music as written; and the two are so different that it would be confusing not to treat them separately. Probably the only general conclusion to be drawn is that Sullivan's score continues to come through with surprising vitality.

The swing version—called "Memphis Bound" and housed in the Broadway Theater—exhibits the virtue and the defect most conspicuous in nearly every all-Negro musical show I have ever seen: the virtue being the gusto with which individual bits are performed, the defect a lack of organization plus a very uncertain pace. Bill Robinson plays Sir Joseph Porter, and his conspicuous presence would be alone sufficient to make almost any performance worth seeing. At an announced sixty-seven he is still an incomparable dancer; but since that fact is generally recognized, it may be more important to point out that Mr. Robinson is also one of the most *authoritative* comic actors now visible in the United States.

Old-timers like to tell us that all the favorites of their day, ingenue and tragedian alike, had in themselves a power to command attention even when the words they were given to speak were feeble or foolish. Mr. Robinson makes it possible for us to believe that something of the sort may have been true, for he dominates the stage, and he needs only to lift a finger to focus every eye upon him. Something in his very presence seems to say, "Watch me. It will be worth your while." And it always is. No serious actor now playing on our stage really has that power, and though there are two or three comedians—Ed Wynn, for example—who approach it, only Bobby Clark can really challenge comparison with Mr. Robinson. Avon Long, who gets second billing, rises also to considerable heights, and several of the feminine members of the cast distinguish themselves; but the plot, which wastes more than half the evening in an unnecessary attempt to explain why "Pinafore" is being performed at all, is unusually trying even as musical-comedy plots go. Some of the swing arrangements, notably that of the love-versus-reason song, are ingenious and amusing; others seemed to me, who am no *aficionado,* merely far too noisy.

Any description of George Kaufman's scheme for his "Hollywood Pinafore" (Alvin Theater) is bound to make it seem unmanageable. The idea that the good ship of Gilbert's imagination might become a Hollywood studio ruled over by an incompetent Joseph Porter, frequented by a ten-percenter named Dick Live-Eye, and haunted by a gossip columnist called Little Miss Butter-up, sounds like one of those ideas which occur to farce writers late at night and are given up next morning. Thanks, however, to Mr. Kaufman's unrivaled theatrical dexterity, the whole affair works out very smoothly, and the love of a director's star daughter for a humble writer becomes as unthinkable as that of Gilbert's original heroine for a common sailor. Music from several of the Sullivan operas is nicely adapted to new words, and whatever else "Hollywood Pinafore" may or may not be, it is pleasant to listen to, pleasant to look at, and so deftly paced that its very expertness is a delight and makes one wish that Mr. Kaufman, who is director as well as lord high everything else of the production, would undertake to stage an "Iolanthe" or a "Patience" as originally written.

Several reviewers have complained that the jibes at Hollywood are too reminiscent of those the author has delivered himself of on previous occasions, and even that the movies have so matured that they should now be treated with respect. Possibly there is something to be said for these objections, or at least for the first of them. But the really original musical-comedy books of the last few years can be counted on the thumbs, and "Hollywood Pinafore," besides having the advantage of a distinguished score, is better danced, better sung, better costumed, and better directed than most current musical shows. The charm of William Gaxton usually escapes me, but he is funnier than usual as Dick Live-Eye, and Victor Moore is his usual engaging self. Shirley Booth sings her "I Am Called Butter-up" song so expertly as to stop the show, and Viola Essen, once of Mordkin's Ballet, gives a brilliant performance in one of those dance interludes which have come to be a regular feature of the musical show. This one tells an amusing story about a small-town girl who gets a contract.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

IN ADDITION to the plausible falsehoods with which Rimsky-Korsakov described and justified his revision of Mussorgsky's "Boris Godunov" after Mussorgsky had died and could no longer protect his work against this vandalism, there was the plausible argument that if the world found the revision wrong it could always go back to Mussorgsky's original version. But Rimsky published his revision, and had it produced in Moscow and St. Petersburg with Chaliapin in the title role, and brought this production to Paris, from where the revised version was carried all over the world; and once it had taken root in opera houses and in the minds of musicians and the general public, then routine, inertia, and lack of understanding kept it there even after the revelation of the outrageousness of what Rimsky had done.

If it had been discovered that some third-rater had touched up a painting

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The subject of this debate is of interest to all persons who want to understand the position of capitalism in a democratic order. Mr. Sokolsky supports Capitalism, while Upton Sinclair is against that system. This debate included a long questions and answers period, in which each debater hurled questions at the other. The points brought out are of great value, especially in these days when the assumptions of capitalism are being questioned in so many sections of the world and democracy is being knifed by reactionary forces that want the world to be run along totalitarian lines. Copies of this enthralling and thought-provoking debate are ready for immediate delivery. Ask for "IS THE AMERICAN FORM OF CAPITALISM ESSENTIAL TO THE AMERICAN FORM OF DEMOCRACY?" 25¢ per copy; 10 copies for $1.50; 100 copies for $10. Prepaid. Send orders to: E. Haldeman-Julius, Box 477, Girard, Kansas.

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of El Greco to reduce its distortion and make its colors more conventional, everyone would have been horrified and the attempt would have been made at once to restore the painting to its original state. But even musicians and critics haven't seemed to realize that Rimsky did the equivalent when he altered melody, harmony, rhythm, phrase-length, and form in "Boris Godunov"; far from being horrified, they have argued that the revision sounded good, failing to understand that the work ought to sound as Mussorgsky intended; and so there has been no pressure on opera companies to counteract the routine and inertia that have caused them to go on presenting Rimsky's falsification years after the score of Mussorgsky's original work had been published. Even after the opera had been out of the Metropolitan's repertory for about ten years and had to be learned anew, Rimsky's falsification was relearned. And it is the falsification to which Victor has again given the permanence and wide circulation of recording in its new volume of excerpts, when it could have recorded the Mussorgsky originals, since Kipnis had learned them for a broadcast, and the other musicians —the tenor Ilya Tamarin, the chorus trained by Robert Shaw, the orchestra directed by Nicolai Berezovsky—were not from the Metropolitan and, having to learn the music, could have learned the original as easily as the falsification.

The volume (Set 1000; $5.50) offers for the most part the well-known excerpts: the orchestral introduction and opening chorus (one side); the Coronation Scene (two sides); Varlaam's *In the Town of Kazan* (one side); Boris's *I Have Attained the Highest Power* (one side); part of the subsequent dialogue of Boris and Shuisky, hitherto unrecorded (two sides); Boris's *Ah, I Am Suffocating* (one side); and the Death of Boris (two sides). The music, most of it, is wonderful; the performances are good (though some fussy phrasing and an erratic tempo caught my ear on the first side). By that I mean, among other things, that Kipnis's singing is richly sonorous; but it would be even better if it were less sonorous more frequently; and at its best it lacks the extraordinary timbre and expressive coloring that make Chaliapin's performances incomparable. On the other hand the new volume offers the choral and orchestral parts reproduced with spaciousness, clarity, and beauty of sound—though I must add that my copy also produced a lot of noisy chatter and "hash" from both surfaces and speakers.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Louis Fischer Elaborates

Dear Sirs: Doesn't your reply to my letter of resignation support my charge that *The Nation* has a "line" and sacred cows? Your reply admits to at least one sacred cow, Russia.

I have other grounds for criticizing *The Nation's* treatment of world affairs. I think that your handling of the San Francisco conference, for instance, has been inadequate and misleading. During the many weeks your editors attended that conference I waited, in vain, to see your analysis of the deadly effects of the veto. You remember I wrote against the veto in *The Nation* a year ago. How much have you said about it since then? I would have other complaints. I thought you would ask me to elaborate. Instead, you say you will elaborate. You promise to "fully develop *The Nation's* position . . . in an early issue." It will not be too early. If I have hastened the coming of that explanation I have done a last service to the readers of *The Nation,* to whom I remain attached.

Because you raised the Russian issue I beg leave to reply. I am worried, no less than you are, by the spreading talk of war with Russia. Such a war would be a horrible disaster for mankind. But what is the reason for the mounting "hatred and fear of Russia in the United States"? I abhor the policy that brought Argentina into the San Francisco conference. But surely it is not this which intensifies the peril of war. I condemn the British and American official relation to Franco Spain. But this, obviously, does not threaten to precipitate a clash between the Western powers and Russia. Nor can the growing antagonism to Russia be traced to the unfortunate policies of Great Britain or the United States in India, Greece, or Italy.

What accounts for the present high peak of fear of Russia is Russia's expansion in Eastern and Central Europe. You seem to overlook that factor. You put the blame solely on Britain and America. I think the blame ought to be distributed more widely. I think the Big Three, perhaps all the Big Five, are helping to ruin the peace. But to you, England and the United States are the devils, whereas Stalin, though he misbehaves on occasions, is the archangel. Such preference reflects unclear thinking. It is born of double standards in politics. This is my real quarrel with you—the double standards. You condone and apologize for what Russia does. When you do hint ever so lightly that Moscow may have made a mistake, you immediately point to grave capitalist sins. You discriminate; you therefore distort.

Perhaps you believe that the present hatred and fear of Russia stem from ideological differences. I wonder. Have not we just finished pumping more than eight billion dollars' worth of lend-lease into Russia? We did not do it out of love for Russia. It was dictated by sensible self-interest. And that self-interest was stronger than ideology. Today too, in my opinion, the tension between Russia and the West is due, chiefly, to national and imperial factors.

You say Russia's expansion is not imperialism but "primarily a security policy." How many sins have been committed in the name of security. You cannot prove that Russia's policy is for security. You could prove that all imperialists and aggressors have pleaded security as their motive. Japan wanted Manchuria for "security." Then it wanted China for the "security" of Manchuria, then Siam, Malaya, and the Indies for the "security" of China. Hitler had similar apologies and Mussolini too. In the present air age there is no security in territory. The only security is in effective international organization. The current quest for "security" via spheres of influence and empires will destroy, has possibly already destroyed, the chances of effective international organization. Is this correct? Have you stressed it?

I see this is getting long. I will stop in a moment. You contend that Russia "is carrying through an anti-fascist policy." I could give you a list a yard long of Soviet steps, at home and abroad, that are not anti-fascist, that are, on the contrary, dictatorial, unilateral, anti-democratic, and conducive to neither freedom nor peace. Was the partition of Poland between Hitler and

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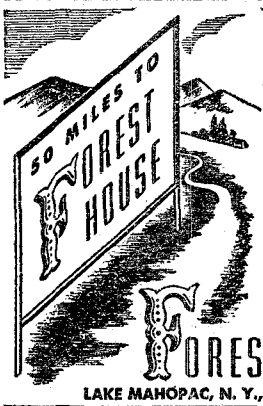

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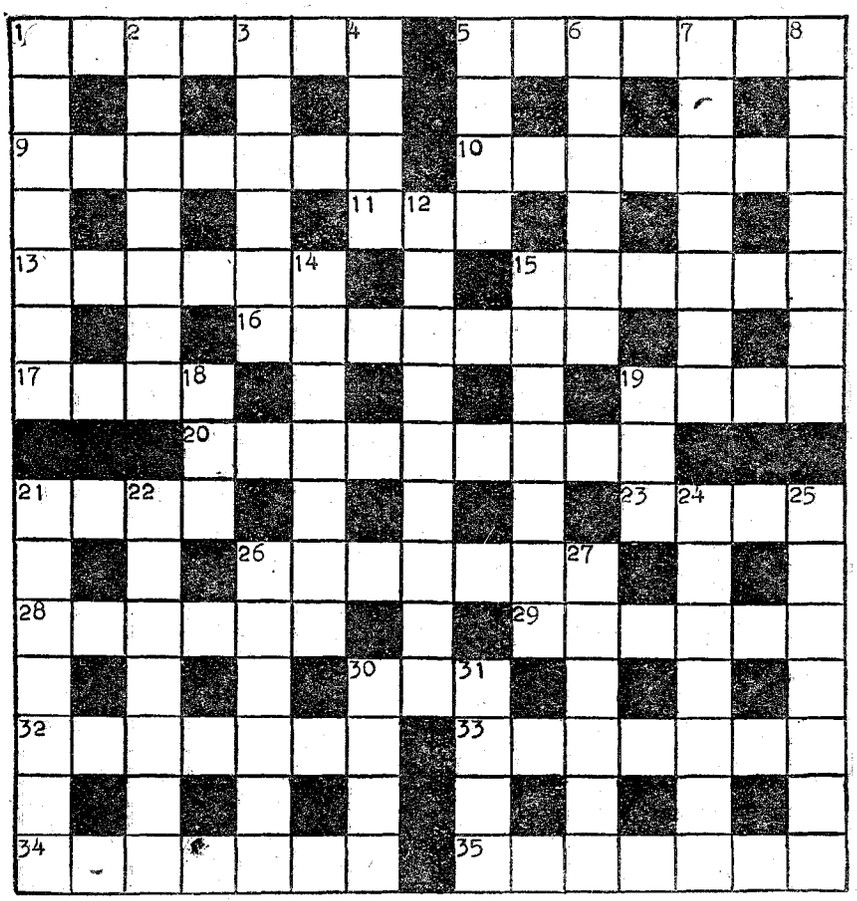
Crossword Puzzle No. 120

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Giant in *Pilgrim's Progress*, owner of Doubting Castle
5 Greek goddess after whom Athens was named
9 A miser, of course, but why drag gin back for him?
10 Family prominent in Dickens' *Nicholas Nickleby*
11 German river
13 Half of what we hear and a third of what we read, usually
15 What the S in H. S. H. stands for
16 A man of learning, or his pupil perhaps
17 Is up and down and looks like going off
19 The seer has gone all Irish
20 Exam reply (anag.)
21 The dream of a waking man
23 Mixed diet
26 Well-devised, and all that's needed to make a politician of Ian
28 In which a cue-man shows quickness of perception
29 A sister of mercy in close contact with the C.I.O. might well bring a message from the Pope!
30 It *is* fit for a pig
32 Dispossess
33 Restaurant where you can see what you're getting for your money
34 Couches for night-watchmen?
35 Back-stage employee. (Wife and furniture in one for some lucky man!)

DOWN

1 Unfinished Byron poem, and basis of Mozart's *Don Giovanni* (two words, 3 and 4)
2 Easy to see how it could make Ted sigh
3 One thing at least the Chinese can count on
4 Isle of Wight town in which saddlers should flourish
5 Cryptogam
6 Dr. Gallup can't get an opinion out of *him*
7 Animal less common than its red namesake (hyphen, 3-4)
8 Stern as a U. S. tree
12 The purpose of our ancestors' meetings is debatable (two words, 4 & 5)
14 Troops advancing in this formation have a clear view ahead
15 A foe of crusaders, but a lad at heart
18 Order to view
19 Peeping Tom risked one—and lost it!
21 O, her Dad kept a secret stock
22 The "I hope I don't intrude?" gentleman (two words, 4 and 3)
24 Scamped (anag.)
25 Pig's foot
26 Small, feminine and French
27 It is not a mug's game that ends in a draw
30 Tess hardens
31 Space the wagon turned into

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 119

ACROSS:—1 FORELOCK; 5 BANQUO; 10 REPAPER; 11 REPRISE; 12 SELMA; 13 DEPRESSED; 14 ELIZA; 16 CULLODEN; 19 SHINGLES; 22 TITHE; 24 SEGREGATE; 26 EMBER; 28 AINTREE; 29 TOASTED; 30 TRASHY; 31 SEA KINGS.

DOWN:—1 FORESTER; 2 REPEL; 3 LEPRACAUN; 4 CARADOC; 6 APPLE; 7 QUIESCENT; 8 OVERDO; 9 PROPEL; 15 IPHIGENIA; 17 ON THE RACK; 18 HEBRIDES; 20 LEAVES; 21 SCEPTRE; 23 ASLANT; 25 EARTH; 27 BATON.

[*During the summer months the Crossword Puzzle will appear every other week.*]

Stalin anti-fascist? Is Stalin's annexation of eastern Poland, in clear violation of the Atlantic Charter (which Russia has accepted three times in writing), an anti-fascist measure? Is the setting up of a Moscow-made puppet government in Poland anti-fascist and democratic? Is the purging of democratic, anti-fascist, and peasant groups in Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia anti-fascist? Is it anti-fascism which impels the Soviet government to demand that Sweden suppress a magazine which criticized Stalin and to ask that it doesn't happen again. (I recall that Japan made a similar protest to the United States government when Bill Gropper lampooned Hirohito in an American magazine.)

You declare that Russia "has not used its power to keep fascist or ex-fascist kings and generals and admirals in office." No? What about King Michael of Rumania? What about the pro-Nazi generals in the present governments of Bulgaria and Hungary? What about the coddling of over fifty Reichswehr generals in Moscow, although while they were in command of the Ukraine and other territories terrible atrocities were committed there? What about Soviet and Italian Communist support of Badoglio? What about the readiness of Spanish Communists to unite with Spanish pro-Franco Catholics? You will of course tell me that England and America have done similar things. That is correct. But why don't you say that Russia has done similar things? If you discriminate, you mislead.

I have no wish to enter into a controversy. For me this is the end of the matter. I resigned because I did not want to give even the appearance of responsibility for *The Nation's* partial and therefore wrong presentation of world affairs. I think your reply proves my point.

LOUIS FISCHER

New York, June 12

CONTRIBUTORS

MAXWELL COHEN is a Canadian lawyer and writer now serving in the armed forces.

GERALDINE SARTAIN has worked for the San Francisco *Chronicle*, the Honolulu *Star-Bulletin*, the Shanghai *China Press*, the Paris *Temps*, and the New York *World-Telegram*. She is now a free-lance magazine writer.

CONSTANTINE POULOS has been the only American or British correspondent in Bulgaria for the last three months.

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